JPRS 82085

26 October 1982

West Europe Report

No. 2050

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FORMER PRIME MINISTER NORDLI BACKS NATO MISSILE DEPLOYMENT

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 15 Sep 82 p 5

[Text] "To send signals that we in the West do not support the modernization of NATO's nuclear weapons--regardless of what the negotiations between East and West lead to--would be unwise. It would undermine the Western negotiation plans, lead to unrealistic negotiations and deal a defeat to the United States and NATO," former Prime Minister Odvar Nordli said in a speech to the Oslo Labor Society last night.

Nordli said straight out that this defeat for the United States and NATO could in turn have important consequences for the alliance and thus for stability in Europe. The former prime minister used the last part of his speech to defend--and reaffirm--Norway's support of the so-called "double resolution" by NATO in 1979, calling it the only sensible solution. What was decisive for Norway's stand, said Nordli, was the desire to preserve internal solidarity in the NATO alliance.

"We could have chosen to say no and been content with that. It might--perhaps--have given us some domestic political benefits, but we would not have halted the modernization of nuclear weapons in Europe. The result could have been that modernization would have occurred at the national level without giving NATO any opportunity to exert its influence."

And Nordli continued: "Voting against modernization would not have led to the atmosphere that was necessary for negotiations between East and West to resume. It is my opinion that without Norway's stand before and during the December 1979 NATO meeting, the results would have been different.

"We have now chosen our course. We have only one possibility, namely to put as much pressure as possible on the parties to achieve concrete results," said Odvar Nordli.

He also dealt with the demands that NATO reevaluate its nuclear weapons strategy in his speech yesterday. To supporters of this view, Nordli gave the following message:

"I am not saying that a reevaluation should not be part of a situation in which negotiated solutions make it probable that we are headed for

political and military detente in Europe. But to proclaim a 'non-preemptive first strike' on the part of some of the European countries without a reduction or elimination of the political danger of armed conflict seems very unrealistic to me.

"Would either side--in an armed conflict with the other--forget its nuclear missiles if one of them came in a militarily inferior situation?" Nordli asked.

"I do not believe it," was the answer given by the former prime minister.

6578
CSO: 3108/157

BRIEFS

LABOR PARTY REMINDED OF NATO COMMITMENTS--In the light of the last few days' debate on the statement by Labor Party Chairman Gro Harlem Brundtland [that Norway should not at present allocate funds for preparations for the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe], the passages in the King's speech relating to foreign and security policy take on deeper significance. The work of promoting security, detente and peace is promoted not by opportunism and weakness, but by a firm and consistent approach to important political realities in the world in which we live. One of these realities is the fact that Norway's security--today and in the foreseeable future--is indissolubly linked to close cooperation with our NATO allies and to strong defense forces. As far as our security is concerned, it is of major importance that joint Western defenses are able to maintain their strength and credibility. It therefore goes without saying that the worst thing that could happen would be for Norway to refuse to fulfill agreements and commitments in which we have taken part as a NATO member and whose sole objective is the preservation of peace. We would urgently ask the Labor Party leaders to give great thought to the issue before the party possibly breaks the agreement to which we are a party on the followup to the NATO dual decisions. [Excerpt] [PM111443 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 4 Oct 82 p 2]

FSO: 3639/12

INTERIOR MINISTRY PRESENTS REPORT ON EXTREMIST GROUPS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 30 Sep 82 p 4

/Report by bcn, datelined Bonn, 29 September: "Acts of Violence on the Right, Threats From the Left"/

/Text/ The defense of the constitution report for 1981, presented last Wednesday by acting Federal Minister of the Interior Schmude, records contrasting trends for the various extremist groups. The incidence of violence and the readiness to commit violent actions have risen among the "left," especially among the undogmatic groups describing themselves as "autonomous" and in the left terrorist camp. At the same time attacks by right extremists have dropped by comparison with 1980. While showing a slightly rising trend, the numbers of followers of the two camps, fragmented into many groups and minigroups, have remained fairly steady. According to the report, right extremist organizations, alleged to have about 20,000 members, had little success in their attempts to obtain more support by inciting hostility toward foreign nationals. On the other hand the DKP recorded quite some success with its "policy of alliances." It and its auxiliary groups have managed to exploit the topic of peace, in particular, to recruit new partners. These findings of the report run squarely across remarks by former Interior Minister Baum (FDP), who even lately tried to represent right extremism as the real source of danger.

Publication of the report had been somewhat delayed dur to the confusion in Bonn . Some passages, though, were leaked in late spring. As in earlier years the report is divided into five chapters: Right extremism, left extremism, terrorism from the left, counterintelligence and extremist efforts by foreign nationals. We must at this point in time question whether the separation of left extremism and "terrorism from the left" (dating from the recent past) will be able to stand up in future, because the dividing lines tend to disappear in the ambiance of the militant "autonomous" groups and the "revolutionary cells."

According to the report right extremist groups increased their following in 1981 by 500 to 20,300; more than half are members of so-called national-libertarian organizations grouped around Frey, published of the DEUTSCHE NATIONALZEITUNG. The influence of the NPD /National Democratic Party of Germany/, on the other hand, has continued to decline. It lost another 1,000 members and now has no more than 7,300 total. The erosion has involved its youth organization too. In parliamentary terms the NPD has actually lost all importance. At the end of the year under review it [illegible] municipal assemblies. The followers of neo-Nazi groups increased

their numbers slightly, to 1,250. These groups represent the greatest threat because they use violence. All of the "right extremist" groups together number about 73, compared with 75 in the preceding year. The report demonstrates that a process of consolidation has taken place here. Dual memberships have dropped sharply.

According to the report few right extremists are to be found in the public service. Their numbers in 1981 were 399, 70 in the Bundeswehr, 13 in the Laender police forces, 30 each in the railway and postal services, and about 40 at schools and universities. The incidence of acts of violence committed by right extremists declined; in 1981 92 such acts were recorded, following 113 in 1980. Threats of violence numbered 189, and the total of criminal offenses was 1,824. Involved in 936 cases were "right extremist graffiti, poster and poster strip actions." For the left such actions are no longer even counted or recorded.

The report credits the left extremists with a little more than 60,000 members--the same as in 1980, excluding those who hold membership in the organizations close to the DKP. Orthodox DKP communism has the strongest organization and well above 40,000 members. It boasts a wide ranging policy of alliances, making use of youthful protesters (peace groups, squatters) and also exerts significant influence on the student bodies at universities. The public service counts 1,430 orthodox communists, most of them employed by the Laender in schools and universities. The DKP is represented in 44 municipal assemblies with 93 (1980: 74) deputies. Subsidies from East Berlin are important factors for the survival of the party. The report claims that the DKP is likely to have obtained "well above DM30 million" from that source in 1981.

DKP Successes with the"Policy of Alliances"

The report states that the DKP's strenuous efforts in factories and labor unions have continued to fail (at the personal level). On the other hand it has gained new friends by its "policy of alliances." It exploits the topic of peace, squatting, the buzz words of "professional ban" and the accusation of imperialism, thereby somewhat adjusting its tactics to other leftist groups. The report, for instance, records the increasing "aggressiveness" of DKP language and its occasional approval of violence.

In its description of DKP alliance politics a special role is assigned the German Peace Union (DFU). This is largely credited with the "success" of the Krefeld appeal. Also alleged to be influenced by the DKP are the "Associations of Victims of the Nazi Regime," the "Committee for Peace, Disarmament and Cooperation," the "German Peace Society--United Opponents of Military Service," the "Association of Democratic Lawyers," and the "German Women's Initiative."

The situation of the so-called "new" and unorthodox left displays diverse aspects. The dogmatic groups, so-called K-groups (for example the KBW /Communist Federation of West Germany/) are waning. They are losing influence and therefore trying to attach themselves to new trends. Their membership, though, is quite steady at about 5,000. While having fewer members (around 3,000), the undogmatic groups of the new left occupy a wider field. They see their function as that of conducting "battles for housing" and actions against the construction of the Frankfurt West runway.

Many people join here, who advocate the use of force and carry out violent acts by way of the so-called autonomous groups. The lines of demarcation between them and left terrorism tend to be obliterated. In 1981 2,241 acts of violence were recorded (1980: 1,222). Abusive language or graffiti by the left were not counted, because--it is claimed--they were not fully recorded.

As regards left extremist terrorism, 1981 featured two events, following some years of apparent calm. In May members of so-called "revolutionary cells" are alleged to have assassinated Hessen Economics Minister Karry (FDP). This murder was described as "unintentional." In late summer the Red Army Faction (RAF) emerged from its hiding place. The attacks on U.S.General Kroesen and NATO headquarters in Ramstein are ascribed to the RAF. In 1981 129 violent acts were laid to the account of these terrorists (1980: 77), including 99 cases of arson. Many such attacks were launched specifically at the time of the hunger strike by jailed terrorists in spring 1981.

Counterintelligence: Politics represented the focus of the interest of Eastern countries. This area is claimed to have been the target of 37 percent of total commissions. This was followed by "military espionage" (21 percent) and "economic and science espionage" (18.5 percent), with the aim of providing some impetus to the Eastern economy. Two thirds of all such commissions are alleged to have been placed by the GDR intelligence service. According to statements by defectors, about half of "GDR traveling cadres" must "also or even exclusively" carry on intelligence operations while traveling in the Federal Republic.

The numbers of foreign nationals organized in extremist groups have risen to almost 124,000 (1980: 109,600). This increase, however, is due almost entirely to a new Pakistani group. According to the report some 4.6 million foreign nationals live in the FRG (Baum recently mentioned a figure of 5 million). The report points out that many of these foreign nationals belong to extremist groups less for political than general reasons (outsider status). Far more than half these foreign nationals join toward the Moscow groups (58,200), about 24,000 toward the "new left" (1980: 14,500). Extremist nationalist groups have 31,000 followers. Particularly active everywhere are Arabs, Greeks, Turks, Iranians and Yugoslavs who continue their hostilities in the FRG. In the year under review extremist foreign nationals committed or attempted 32 terrorist acts, 5 more than in 1980 and including 10 attempted murders (1980: 18) and 17 bombings (1980: 7).

ECONOMIST LOOKS AT FUTURE OF DANISH ENERGY POLICY

Copenhagen AFTEN in Danish 17 Sep 82 p 4

[Article by C.N. Dyrberg]

[Text] The fuel cell research which has been going on for the last few years may bring about a revolutionary improvement in the use of natural gas and permanent energy resources, says C.N. Dyrberg, director, the Credit Association Denmark, who, in this article, outlines 9 years of energy policy developments and looks at the future of the Danish energy policy.

In connection with the first oil price increases in the fall of 1973, Denmark was largely unable to react with energy policy measures because more than 90 percent of the country's greatly increased energy consumption was covered by oil from a few countries in the Middle East.

As is well-known, this circumstance contributed in the course of the following years to the limitation of our economic freedom of action which has characterized developments since then.

Against this background, it is pointed out that the energy policy pursued at the present time shows important results.

First of all, the growth in the total energy consumption has been stopped, and our dependence on oil has been reduced. From nearly total dependence in 1972 to two-thirds of our energy consumption in 1980, where more than half of the energy now comes from new supplier countries, primarily Norway and Great Britain.

At the same time, the certainty of coverage of our energy requirements has increased as oil and gas from the North Sea has become a reality.

A major reason why the total energy consumption has remained constant throughout the last decade is that the energy consumption for heating purposes has dropped sharply during the last few years, despite the fact that the total Danish area of buildings to be heated has increased by one fifth.

The basis for this has, in turn, been the better insulation of old dwellings as a consequence of more information and new subsidy arrangements which since 1975 have been given partly as direct subsidies, partly as tax deductions. At the same time, it has been possible to arrange the part of the financing for which no public subsidies may be obtained, through loans in credit associations.

This easing of the financing, combined with the fact that the cost of energy has increased many times more than the general price and wage levels, has had the effect that owners of one-family homes, to a large extent, have found it advantageous to exploit the possibilities of subsidies and loans. In the Credit Association Denmark, we have thus seen many times that, after insulation and other energy saving measures, a family has got more money over for their daily consumption because their saving on heating oil became larger than the increase in mortgage payments.

Here, the revision of the Heating Survey Act recently carried through means that these advantages are increased. Until the New Year, 20 per cent (7,000 kroner at a maximum) may be granted by way of subsidies from the state to a large selection of energy saving measures, and it is no longer necessary but often a good idea to have the work approved by an energy consultant. Ninety percent of the part of the cost of the improvement for which no subsidy has been granted may be financed by way of a 20-year loan. As the state subsidies will be reduced from 20 per cent to 15 percent after the New Year, there is, at the moment, a strong incentive to start energy saving measures.

It should be pointed out that the subsidy arrangements carried through also have advantages to the economy of the country in that the approximately 2.3 billion kroner which have been granted in subsidies so far must be assumed to have resulted in investments of approximately 8 billion kroner, corresponding to employment for approximately 35,000 people in 1 year. To this come annual currency savings of the order of 0.5 billion kroner.

The fact that is especially in the area of heating that possibilities of savings exist appears from the pamphlet 'Energi og Danmark' [Energy and Denmark]. According to the said pamphlet, it is expected that the share of heating in the total fuel consumption will drop from 30 percent in 1981 to 22 percent in the year 2000. As far as the heating consumption is concerned, oil burners will account for only 22 percent in the year 2000 as against 52 percent in 1981. On the other hand, the importance of the other heating resources will increase.

Permanent energy sources are thus expected to be of considerable greater important around the year 2000, but it will only be during the next century that the present sources of supply (oil, coal, gas and nuclear power) may be feared to be exhausted.

Researchers all over the world are preparing for such a future situation, and most expectations are attached to the development of solar energy, the use of hydrogen as well as the fuel cell research.

Fuel cell research was the very subject of a seminar conducted by Johs. [illegible]n, chief of the research department at Odense University, which was recently held at Hindsgavl Palace. Researchers from many European countries as well as Dr. Albert Strub, who is chief of the EC Directorate for Alternative Energy Sources, were specially invited.

The results in the fuel cell area will probably not be applied in practice until about 10 years. A fuel cell is a piece of equipment without movable parts which converts different kinds of fuel directly into high-efficiency electricity. The fuel cells which have been used for many years for power generation in the U.S. space vehicles contain platinum, and they are far too costly for use in connection with conventional energy systems. However, researchers are already on the track of new materials and processes in cells which may then be produced without the costly precious metals. Space technology may, consequently, be used on earth, and that means in the long run that the price of fuel cell equipment will get down to the same level as other decentralized heat power units.

If researchers and engineers succeed in developing materials and equipment which will come up to expectations, this will cause a revolutionary improvement in the use of natural gas and permanent energy sources for power supply to individual homes, apartment buildings, farms as well as industrial and commercial buildings. In addition, there will be advantageous uses in industrial processes and within the transport sector. The great advantages are that fuel cell units may be installed in all sizes, thus as very small units, so that the energy conversion in the closed systems is completely without pollution and finally that the energy conversion involves a much smaller loss than is the case with respect to some of the fuel systems which we know today.

It is of great significance that Denmark today participates in a research cooperation as the one in which the Laboratory for Energy Research at Odense University participates. We thus create the possibility of developing technology within our national borders and, on the whole, secure for ourselves objective technical expertise when the big energy policy decisions will have to be made in the future.

BIOGAS FROM GARBAGE DUMPS TO BE EXPLOITED

Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 15 Sep 82 p 19

[Text] The biogas from Danish garbage dumps has not yet been exploited, but this week several experiments, involving test drillings in garbage dumps around the country, will be started.

The engineering firm of Crone & Koch's branch at Viborg has got the idea and has planned a total of 6-7 test drillings, one of which has already been started at Viborg.

With funds from the research program of the Ministry of Energy, the branch at Viborg, under the leadership of H.C. Willumsen, engineer, has prepared a report on the possibilities of exploiting the gas in Danish garbage dumps.

H.C. Willumsen states that the idea stems from the United States, where, in 1980, he participated in a congress on bioenergy.

"So far, we have found out that approximately 45 Danish garbage dumps are of such a size that it will be profitable to exploit the gas. At the same time, it is a question of dumps containing primarily residential garbage," H.C. Willumsen says.

"So far, we believe that an average dump of 11 hectares and of a depth of 10 meters will yield 19,000 cubic meters of biogas per day. That will be an annual production worth 7.6 million kroner. And we estimate the investments in the individual plant at 10-12 million kroner. According to our calculations, such a plant will provide 800-1,000 households with heating," he says.

The present test drillings are precursors of a pilot project which will be started in 1983 at one of the test drilling sites.

Not until 1984 may an actual large-scale production be expected.

Concurrently with the physical planning of the biogas project, strong efforts are being made to find buyers for the gas.

[illegible] principle of biogas exploitation is simple. In broad outline, an extrac- [illegible] consists of a number of pipes with holes in them which are put into [illegible] in the garbage dump. The gas penetrates into the pipes through the [illegible] and is conveyed, via interconnected pipes, to a gas purifying plant, [illegible] the gas is purified.

[illegible] gas passes into different systems, for example a district heat- [illegible].

[illegible] possible to purify the gas to such a degree that it may go direct- [illegible] a natural gas pipe. This form of purification, however, is so costly [illegible] it has not yet been incorporated in the plans.

STUDY PROJECTS FUTURE USAGE FOR VARIOUS ENERGY TYPES

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 21 Sep 82 p 27

[Article: "Prediction for Year 2000: Electric Use Will Nearly Double"]

[Text] The proportion of electricity in the total consumption of energy will increase to 50 percent by the end of this century. This was the estimate of a report "Use of Electricity Until the Year 2000" published on Monday by the Cooperative Commission of Electricity Producers. The present share of electricity is one-third of total energy consumption.

The consumption of electricity will increase faster than the total consumption of energy. In this decade consumption will increase at an average annual rate of 3.8 percent and in the next decade at an average annual rate of 2.0 percent according to the estimates of the report.

The total consumption of electricity will increase according to the predictions from 40 billion kilowatt hours in 1980 to approximately 58 billion kilowatt hours in 1990 and approximately 71 billion kilowatt hours in the year 2000. The predicted consumption of electricity in the year 2000 will thus be approximately 80 percent more than in the year 1980.

The price development of electricity compared to other forms of energy has been relatively stable and the position of electricity as an economically advantageous form of energy has become stronger. The producers of electricity predict that this development will continue. The premise of the prediction is that the price relationships between the various forms of energy will remain somewhat the same.

The advantageous price development of electricity is a result of the fact that the production of electricity is based on hydropower as well as nuclear and counterpressure power, which is beneficial from the point of view of fuel costs.

The consumption of electricity predicted by the Cooperative Commission of Electricity Producers will make it possible to increase economic growth by an annual average of 3 percent. However, the link between the use of electricity and overall economic development is weak and will continue to become weaker in the future. This according to the report is a result of the effect

of the selection of production methods by industry, among other things, on the use of electricity as well as a result of electric heating, whose increase depends more on price relationships between the various forms of heating than economic development.

Industry's relative share of total electricity consumption will remain at nearly the present level until the year 2000 according to the predictions. It is not expected that there will be any significant changes in the structure of industry. In industry, in which electricity is a production factor, the need for electricity will increase as the amount of production increases even though at a slower rate as a result of increasingly more efficient and economical production procedures.

The increase in the consumption of electricity has decreased rapidly in the last 20 years. In the 1960's the average annual increase in the consumption of electricity was 9.5 percent and in the 1970's it was 6.3 percent.

It is predicted that industry's share in the consumption of electricity will increase from 22.9 billion kilowatt hours in 1980 to 31.4 billion kilowatt hours in 1990 and to 38.8 billion kilowatt hours in the year 2000.

It is estimated that electric heating will increase perceptibly and the electricity used by it will increase from 3.2 billion kilowatt hours in 1980 to 7.[illegible] billion kilowatt hours in 1990 and to 10.6 billion kilowatt hours in the year 2000.

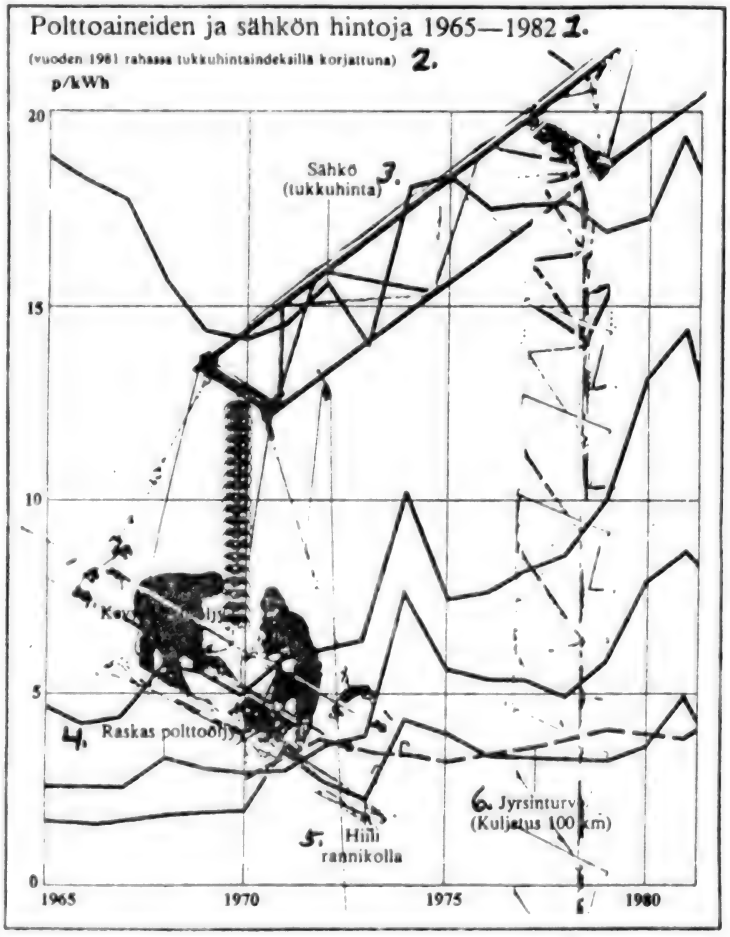
The consumption of electricity for housing and agriculture will according to the predictions increase from 5.8 billion kilowatt hours in 1980 to 9.1 billion kilowatt hours in the year 2000 and electricity for services will increase from 5.6 billion kilowatt hours in 1980 to 8.5 billion kilowatt hours in the year 2000.

10576
CSO: 3617/2

GRAPH INDICATES ELECTRICITY WINNING ENERGY COMPETITION

Helsinki UUSI SUOMI in Finnish 21 Sep 82 p 12

[Graph and Graph Captions]



Key:

1. Prices of fuel and electricity 1965--1982
2. (revised by wholesale price index in 1981 money)
3. Electricity (wholesale price)
4. Heavy fuel oil
5. Coal on the coast
6. Milled peat (transported 100 kilometers)

10576
CSO: [illegible]

PEAT INDUSTRY SUFFERING FROM LOW DEMAND, LAYS OFF WORKERS

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 13 Sep 82 p 9

[Text] The National Fuel Center will lay off all 40 employees at its peat briquet plant in Ilomantsi at some unspecified date. Layoffs are also to be expected at the fuel center's Haukineva plant in Peraseinajoki if calculations do not show that the activity will become profitable.

The layoffs are due to difficulties in marketing peat. When peat production was started, there was probably a failure to give sufficient consideration to the price variations in foreign fuels. The fuel center is applying for government assistance to keep the plants operating and is also starting a marketing campaign to promote the consumption of domestic fuel. Employees at the Ilomantsi plant feel that the campaign should have started much sooner.

The stockpiling of peat briquets would keep at least the Ilomantsi plant operating. But stockpiling is not a permanent solution to the problem of marketing difficulties.

The Haukineva plant also produces peat briquets, but its main product is peat coke. The plant has about 80 employees.

Higher Prices

The price of milled peat has risen by between 10 and 20 percent this fall. The National Fuel Center has already concluded several dozen peat delivery agreements for this fall. According to branch manager Kari Mutka of the National Fuel Center, an attempt has been made to increase the standard price of peat to keep pace with cost increases. He feels that a sharp price increase is out of the question.

The price is based on the delivered product, and freight charges are a major item. Moreover, the price of peat has been low recently. The standard price has usually kept pace with inflation, according to Mutka. The price of peat is established through long-term delivery contracts and is adjusted annually at the beginning of September.

According to Mutka, negotiations this year have been made more difficult by the fact that there is an abundance of foreign energy on the market. For example, the price of coal is down and so, to some extent, is the price of oil.

Last year the fuel center produced almost 16 million cubic meters of peat. Of that total, about 1.5 million cubic meters were in the form of coarse peat, with milled peat making up the remainder.

The biggest customers for milled peat are the thermal power plants in Tampere, [illegible], and Oulu. Peat is used extensively in the forest industry and elsewhere to generate heat.

[illegible]
CSO: 3650/1

CONFERENCE SPEAKERS OPTIMISTIC ON ARCTIC OIL AND GAS FINDS

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 27 Sep 82 p 25

[Article by Flemming Dahl: "Believe Much Oil and Gas in the Arctic"]

> [Text] During the international conference at the Veritas Center outside Oslo last week optimism was expressed from several sources concerning the possibilities of finding and extracting further large amounts of oil and gas in Arctic areas. One hundred fifty representatives from research and educational institutions, government authorities and business leaders from a number of countries participated in the conference, "A Focus on Arctic Energy Resources" which was concluded Friday.

The speech of summation was delivered by Dr Finn Sollie from the Fritjof Nansen Foundation at Polhogda, and he said that the conference had been enormously valuable.

Sollie told AFTENPOSTEN that there is broad agreement that the necessary technology for utilizing Arctic energy resources is available. "Now it is mainly a matter of using that technology in an efficient and profitable way."

Sollie emphasized that no conclusions should be drawn about the tempo at which future exploration and extraction activity should proceed.

"But a main conclusion, apart from considerations of protecting the environment and society, is that rational and safe activity is necessary, with massive and coordinated investment across national land borders, including the research," he said.

The Arctic conference was arranged by Det Norske Veritas on behalf of a [illegible]-year-old international scientific organization called Comite Arctique International, which is registered in Monaco.

The goal of the organization is to illuminate all current questions in connection with Arctic areas, not only energy questions. Now they are deciding whether to arrange a new energy conference in a few years.

To begin with the organization will issue a publication with material from the just completed conference. The publication is expected to be ready next year. It will be intended for researchers, government officials and business. Comite Arctique International hopes that it will contribute to strengthening relations with the Russians, who were not represented at last week's conference.

Finn Sollie, one of the originators of the Comite Arctique International says that the organization is now working on starting a 10-year research project to chart what happens in connection with the mixing of cold and warm waters in the sea between Greenland and Svalbard.

Such a project could have basic significance for scientific understanding of the polar sea basin, and furthermore it can be of great importance for understanding and thereby possibly warning of ice conditions in northern ocean areas.

9287
CSO: 3639/2

MINISTRY SECRETARY SEES SHARPENING OF OIL POLICY DEBATE

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 25 Sep 82 p 2

[Article by Undersecretary Hans Henrik Ramm of the Ministry of Oil and Energy: "Increasing Oil Possibilities"]

> [Text] After 10-15 years oil and gas activity means more to us than ever, and there is more conflict over oil policies than when it first came up that we would be oil exporters. In the period up to and following the turn of the century this activity will offer increasing possibilities. And there will continue to be conflict over the oil policies, even if it is obvious that the debate 10 years from now will concern other issues than today.

How great the possibilities are is illustrated by a situation which surprises people in other countries: the question of how long the reserves will last has become more and more important for other petroleum producing countries. But in the Norwegian debate that issue is more in the background. In Great Britain and Netherlands they are concerned with the size of annual production in relation to the reserves, with the idea of ensuring future self supplies. This was an important subject of discussion for Norway early in the 70's, but it is now more and more in the background. The discussion of the size of production is less of a "resource policy" matter, and more a discussion of the running consequences for society.

The reason for this is that probable reserves are largely seen in relation to our own consumption. Even the discussion of how long we can get the reserves to last involves too long a future to be real. The limitations we are discussing today are of another type, but just as important: wage pressure, price pressure and the effects of readjustments. Such "problems" will not prevent those in other countries from believing that Norway is in a bit of a luxury position. We can afford to take such items into consideration, while other countries would much prefer to have our resources to pay for a strained exchange account.

In the short term our freedom of trade is very limited. To avoid a strong decline in production and national income from 1990 and an earlier lack of

tasks for the manufacturing industry, we must soon approve new fields. We have many more possible fields here than we need. But if we move our planning horizon a little farther out, it is clear that we have significant freedom to trade. The extent of the exploratory activity over the 80's will naturally decide the outer limits of possible production in the beginning of the next century. And it is really that time perspective which we are discussing today.

Today we feel that limitations on capacity and lack of political ability to govern are putting limits on what demand and income we can tolerate from oil activity. But we must not close our eyes to the possibilities which can seem greater than the problems when we have an additional 10-15 years behind us. Perhaps our next ripening period as an oil nation will teach us how good foreign exchange creates lasting benefits for the Norwegian people, before the demoralizing and inflation-driven use of money causes us to buy whatever we want most at that moment.

The opposite extreme does not seem particularly flattering to us either: that through fear of using the income foolishly we should refrain from utilizing its value in a time when the world requires oil and gas and is willing to pay a good price. And so perhaps we discover a couple of generations later that new energy sources have depressed the price of oil and gas so much that we can no longer afford to produce what we have.

Today it is too early to go very far on this discussion. But it shows the importance of the work now being carried out by the government-appointed commission which is working on the problem of how we can better govern the activity of oil for Norwegian society.

Perhaps this work in a few years will cause us to feel more sure that we can control these activities; that the increased activity will not create undesirable pressures. Will the planning of oil activity then be uncontroversial? Most certainly not--but it will include other issues: prioritizing of profitable or marginal fields, field economy, oil taxation, market strategies, etc.

Let me mention a special aspect: Today we are used to regarding both the direct pressure from the development and operational side and the indirect reorganizing activity based on use of oil income as merging "problems" which point in the direction of a low activity level. There are indications that that is a specific south Norway phenomenon which is blamed for the small amount of free capacity in south Norway's economy. Farther north many today feel that they would prefer to see a little "economic pressure." Increasing numbers of unemployed and other problems in north Norway can mean that even relatively high oil activity off north Norway would be good for that part of the country, even though some think that would give the state too much money (and the readjustment pressure to use it). A greater degree of connection between the oil activities and the finance policies is therefore perhaps of special interest for the northern part of the country.

As oil activity becomes a more incorporated element in the Norwegian economy, it is natural that a larger part of the activity will be taken care of by Norwegian companies. Even though the discussion of Statoil's condition today is intense, I have confidence that in the not too distant future it will be seen as quite obvious that it is the state itself which cashes in the state income, and that none of the Norwegian companies will be able to dictate to the others through overwhelming voting rights in the different concessions. The idea that the international companies are so large and strong that we must create a large state company to look them in the eye is really already obsolete. The Norwegian oil industry today is not especially lagging behind the foreigners in competence, and before long we will be pushing them in competition and capacity.

9287
CSO: 3639/2

GOVERNMENT HOPES COMPETITION WILL EASE HIGH GASOLINE PRICES

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 27 Sep 82 p 25

[Article by Thorleif Andreassen: "Government Does Nothing to Bring Down Gasoline Prices"]

> [Excerpts] The government does not want to impose taxes to bring down gasoline prices. According to information available to AFTENPOSTEN, gasoline taxes will on the contrary be adjusted in step with price increases. The government wants to prioritize tax reductions for all, mainly by subsidizing individual consumer groups, such as automobile users. It is still believed that the competitive effect will produce reasonable gasoline.

"It is the job of the authorities to create competition which gives the consumers as low prices as possible at all times. Our job is not to decide what is the 'right' gasoline price." This was said by Minister of Consumer Affairs and Administration Astrid Gjertsen to AFTENPOSTEN on the question of whether she now believes that gasoline prices are too high in Norway.

She added that there has been an inordinate amount of drama about gasoline prices compared with goods which are a greater burden on the household budget.

Investigations have been conducted which show that gasoline prices are not exceptionally high compared with other countries. The prices do not create any special hardship on the usual car owner's annual expenses. Furthermore the price increases for gasoline are far below the increases in food prices. Another thing is that long distances and dependence on automobiles puts Norway in a special situation, according to Mrs Gjertsen.

The government's belief that competition between oil companies will lead to lower gasoline prices has not come true. When one company raises its prices, the others follow. It seems inevitable.

Increasing Pressure From the Public

"It is a question of time how long the organizations can resist the pressure from the public, which increasingly wants action against increased gasoline prices." Warnings from automobile organizations are clear. On 16 March last year the then Storting representative Astrid Gjertsen said, "The price level of gasoline is now unreasonably high in the oil country of Norway. I understand why people are reacting." Since that time the price for a liter of premium gasoline has risen by 59 ore at full-service stations.

Today Astrid Gjertsen told AFTENPOSTEN that investigations show that gasoline prices in Norway are not unreasonably high compared with other countries. From the first of the year the price of premium gasoline has risen by 24 ore at full-service stations.

Price growth alarms very many automobile owners. They are afraid that increases will lead to the automobile being used only by the privileged income classes; that the automobile will again be a luxury object, as it was at the beginning of the automobile industry; that it would no longer be for the general public, an important means of transport which can bring the average woman and man from the city and out to the coast or to the interior when necessary.

So far this year gasoline prices have been changed seven times. They have gone down twice, and up five times. Before the first of the year a liter of premium cost 4.48 kroner at full-service stations. Today it costs 4.72 kroner. This is how prices have gone:

Date	Premium	Regular
8 Jan	4.57 kr.	4.49 kr.
10 Feb	4.50	4.42
24 Mar	4.40	4.32
18 Jun	4.52	4.44
14 Jul	4.58	4.50
9 Aug	4.64	4.54
Latest	4.72	4.61

The hot debate about gasoline prices is often based on the taxes which are in the special fees to the state treasury. The gasoline fees are calculated in ore per liter, and almost every year they are discussed in the Storting. These fees make up about 29 percent of the expense of owning a car.

At a full-service station one liter of premium gasoline costs 4.65 kroner. Of this amount 2.22 kroner goes to public expenses--48 percent of the price. The value added tax is 0.77 kroner, while the gasoline tax is 1.45 kroner.

The remaining amount is divided as follows: the station operator's advance is 26 ore (6 percent), the oil company for crude oil, refinery, distribution, marketing, etc. gets 2.17 kroner (46 percent) and 0.25 kroner is for the freight of the gasoline (5 percent). These figures apply for the Shell Oil

company, but are also representative for the other companies. The price of gasoline rises evenly and steadily.

Minister of Consumer Affairs and Administration Astrid Gjertsen, and the country's automobile organizations, hope that competition among the oil companies will result in lower prices. How much that will affect price differences remains to be seen. But the minister and the automobile organizations both say, "Purchase gasoline where it is the most reasonable! That will expedite the results of the competitive effect."

Norway has maintained its 7th place standing on the gasoline price barometer during all of 1982. The tendency toward falling prices, from the beginning of 1981 to the summer of 1982, was broken in part by sharp price increases in all of West Europe. Norway was no exception.

In the Nordic countries, Danish and Finnish gasoline prices are higher than Norwegian. In Sweden the average price is still well under Norway's Among our neighbors there are significant price variations. Central Europe still has the cheapest gasoline. West Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Netherlands and France--together with Sweden--are in the lower part of the price spectrum. In the upper part we find countries like Italy and Portugal. In Italy there is a discount arrangement which gives a discount of 25 percent on the day's gasoline price.

9287
CSO: 3639/2

NORTH SEA VALHALL FIELD SOON TO START OIL, GAS PRODUCTION

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 22 Sep 82 p 25

[Article by Flemming Dahl]

[Text] Stavanger--Norway, in its capacity as an oil and gas nation, is approaching a new milepost now that most of the Valhall field southwest of Stavanger is expected to be ready for the start of production within a few weeks. Valhall contains both oil and gas and is the fourth area on the Norwegian continental shelf--after Ekofisk, Frigg and Statfjord--that has been developed with production installations.

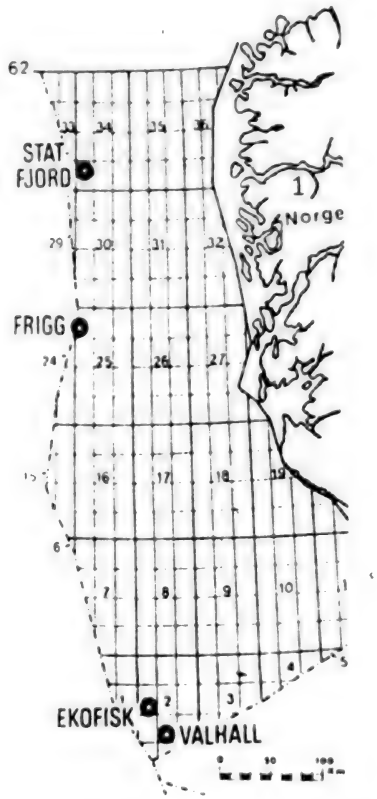
But with its estimated extractable reserves, which according to the Oil Directorate are around 30 million tons of crude oil and 28 million tons of oil units in the form of natural gas, the part of Valhall that has been developed to date is considerably less rich in content than Ekofisk, Frigg or Statfjord--where production started in 1971, 1977 and 1979 respectively.

It is estimated that investment in the major part of Valhall, the so-called Valhall-A project, will come up to 7 or 8 billion kroner when all the production wells have been drilled. At first, production will come from two wells but in 4 or 5 years the number of wells will increase to 18.

However these billions in outlay must be seen in connection with the fact that the extractable reserves that are estimated to be present represent a gross sales value of roughly 70 billion kroner at today's prices, of which the Norwegian state treasury will probably pocket 85 percent.

It is estimated that the reserves will be productive for 15 years. In step with the drilling of new wells, daily production will be gradually increased--so that oil production passes its peak in the mid-1980's and gas production does so at the end of that decade.

The oil will go to Teeside in England and the gas will go to Emden in West Germany, but it will go via the central platform in the Ekofisk area, from which pipelines to the mainland have been in use for several years. To transport the production over the 36 kilometers to Ekofisk, which is northwest of Valhall, two new pipelines have been laid along the ocean floor--one for oil and one for gas.



During the 1970's, oil and gas production started up at Ekofisk, Frigg and Statfjord. Now Valhall is rapidly approaching the point where production can start there.

Key:

1. Norway

Several Platforms

In addition to these two pipelines and a so-called riser pipe platform beside the Ekofisk platform, the Valhall-A project consists of three solid steel platforms--a drilling platform, a residential platform and a treatment platform.

The profile of the three platforms, which are connected by covered walkways, has taken shape slowly but surely since the first platform substructure was set in place in the just under 70-meter ocean depth 2 years ago.

American Amoco, in its capacity of operating company, is responsible for the Valhall development and will now become the fourth company responsible for production on the Norwegian continental shelf. Amoco will join the ranks of American Phillips (Ekofisk), French Elf Aquitaine (Frigg) and American Mobil (Statfjord).

The Valhall field extends over blocks 2/8 and 2/11--in which Amoco, Norwegian NOCO (Norwegian Oil Consortium), American Texas Eastern and American Amerada all own shares. In block 2/8, the richer of the two, the three American companies own 28.33 percent and NOCO owns 15 percent, while all the companies own 25 percent of block 2/11.

According to Amoco's information chief in Norway, Oyvind Kvaal, roughly 65 percent of the development costs of Valhall-A will go for Norwegian products and services. He also emphasized that both the platform chief and most of the approximately 150 people who will keep operations going out in the field at all times will be Norwegians.

Big Activity

There has been a lot of activity at Valhall while the various platform sections were being assembled. In the past year over 500 people have been at work out there. Most have lived on the floating residential platform, "Treasure Supporter," which is anchored alongside the three solid platforms. The residential platform will remain in place until the end of the year, since Amoco anticipates a large need for personnel in the first phase of production.

Exploratory drilling at Valhall was started in the middle of the 1960's and the first signs of oil and gas came to light in 1969. In 1975 they found quantities that would make extraction profitable and the year after that the decision was made to develop the area.

At an early point in time, it was estimated that production would start in 1981 and that the investment would be considerably lower than the present estimates. But like so many other fields in the North Sea, Valhall was subjected to both delays and cost overruns.

Continuation Uncertain

It has long been thought that Valhall-A would be supplemented with the development of the nearby Hod field in block 2/11 along with a Valhall-B and a Valhall-C project, but it is still not certain that these will be carried out and if so, in what form.

To begin with, Amoco and its partners are concentrating on a possible Hod development. It was said earlier that a decision on development there would be made in the winter of 1981-82, but information chief Kvaal now tells AFTENPOSTEN that no decision will be made in any case until after the beginning of next year.

He stressed that the oil and gas in the area lie in limestone formations, the productivity of which is hard to estimate, making it important to obtain some experience from Valhall-A before any new development projects are begun.

During construction of Valhall-A, Amoco kept a continual check going on the platforms and all the complicated equipment, while the Oil Directorate held a superior supervisory function. At this time, representatives of the directorate are expected to visit the field and make a final check--and assuming that they find everything to be in order, they will grant permission for production to start immediately after that.

6578
CSO: 3108/157

MINISTRY OFFICIALS EXPECT RECORD OIL, GAS PRODUCTION FOR 1982

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 22 Sep 82 p 25

[Article by Flemming Dahl]

[Text] The authorities have now adjusted their estimates upward and say that 1982 is headed for a record high annual production of oil and gas on the Norwegian continental shelf, AFTENPOSTEN learned from the Oil and Energy Ministry.

If no factors enter in to upset this estimate, the annual production will exceed 50 million tons of oil units for the first time. The increased estimates are due partly to the fact that the Statfjord-A platform has achieved a higher daily production than expected and partly to the fact that the start of production at both Statfjord-B platform and the Valhall field is expected to take place earlier than anticipated.

Egil Helle, information secretary in the Oil and Energy Ministry, stressed that a strike or a technical accident could wipe out the basis for a new annual record, however.

The existing record was set in 1980 when 49.5 million tons were produced. Last year's production was 48.8 million tons and the authorities originally estimated a further small decline for the current year.

But just on the basis of developments at Statfjord-A and the prospect that production can start at Valhall as early as September or October, the authorities have increased the estimates for this year by 2 million tons, which would bring the total to 49.9 million.

This week, Mobil, the operating company of the Statfjord field, asked the Oil and Energy Ministry to speed up the production start at Platform B by a month, to 1 November, which would indicate a small addition to the 49.9 million tons this year.

Information secretary Helle revealed that the figure of 49.9 million tons was calculated in connection with the background material for next year's national budget, which the government must present in October. For 1983--

the year covered by the budget--the ministry estimates a production of around 52 million tons, according to Helle, who emphasized that speeding up the production start at Statfjord-B is not included in this estimate either.

Helle revealed that estimates for oil and gas production in the period 1982-84 have been adjusted upward by 5 million tons of oil units in connection with the background material for next year's national budget.

He pointed out that the ministry is usually somewhat more cautious than the operating companies when it comes to production figures and dates for production starts.

"For planning purposes, it is worse for us to err in the opposite direction," he said, noting that the ministry originally counted on production starting early in 1983 at both Statfjord-B and Valhall.

For both the oil companies and the authorities, any increase in original production estimates is a positive development. Just a single million tons of oil units can represent gross sales revenues of well over a billion kroner--of which a good 80 percent goes to the state treasury.

Earlier this year the estimates of 1982 oil company and state revenues from the continental shelf were already raised as a result of the rise in the value of the dollar compared to the Norwegian kronen.

6578
CSO: 3108/157

OFFICIALS DISPUTE ELECTRICITY PRODUCTION OUTLOOK

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 10 Sep 82 p 9

[Article by Trygve Monsen]

[Text] Mo, Rana, 9 Sep--"We have shattered the assumptions behind the government's energy report and energy consumption is dangerously high. If we have a 4-percent increase in electricity consumption this year, as it seems we will, we will be 2.7 billion kWh above the estimate in the energy report," said general director Sigmund Larsen of the Norwegian Electric Power Network (NVE) at a press conference in Mo in Rana on Thursday.

"If we had had normal conditions for industry, everything would have broken down," said Larsen who said that industries that use large amounts of energy are using between 3 and 4 billion kWh less than they are entitled to under their contracts.

"I do not like the word crisis, but there could be a deficit of steady power. Power coverage is quite uncertain up to 1985 and from 1990 on we could really have problems. But right now several counties that do not have enough power are beginning to turn away big customers," Larsen maintained.

"I also think that economizing on energy will be more important, among other things because it is important to arrive at a proper use of our energy. The best economic solution would be for us to go over from oil to electric power.

"But it is also asked whether it would not be appropriate to wait and see what other countries manage to get out of alternative and more exotic sources of energy before we start working on this in Norway. Among other things we should wait for the experiences of the Swedes before we start building wind power plants in Norway," he said.

As expected, the NVE chief was strongly refuted by the general secretary of the Norwegian Environmental Protection League, Thorbjorn Paule, who also took part in the NVE seminar.

"There is no danger or an energy shortage, even with the current predictions. The NVE forecasts assume among other things that there will be no measurable results of energy economizing before 1990," said Paule who said it must be possible to get something out of those 12 billion kWh that flow past the power stations. It should be possible to reclaim some of it with larger turbines while more could be gained by improving grid networks, he said.

The chief of the Network of Norwegian Power Plants, Rolf Wieswang, refuted Paule and said that we can get some extra power by utilizing more of the flood water, but this can only be done in years with a lot of precipitation, not when we need energy in dry years.

NVE has worked out what the situation would have been like for energy supplies from 1930 up to the present if we had installed the same capacity in that period as we have at power plants today. It shows that by and large there would have been a big surplus in all years, but there would have been a shortage of around 7 percent with the drought we had in the years 1940-42. There would also have been too little energy in 1959-60.

NVE hopes that power supplies will be improved somewhat by building an east-west power line in southern Norway soon. NVE would also like a new power line between Norway and Denmark so that we could obtain Danish thermal power in dry years.

6578
CSO: 3108/157

BRIEFS

INCREASED OIL EXPORTS TO SWEDEN--Stockholm, 26 Sep (NTB-TT)--Swedish oil imports from Norway almost quadrupled during the first half of this year. Norway thereby became Sweden's next largest supplier of crude oil after Great Britain. This comes from figures published by Sweden's Central Statistical Bureau. Oil imports from Norway increased during the first half of this year from 0.6 to 2.2 billion kroner. The total Swedish import from Norway increased by 51 percent, while exports rose by 30 percent. Sweden's trade with OPEC countries has furthermore grown from a deficit of 1.4 billion kroner in the first half of last year to a surplus of 2.3 billion kroner in the same period this year. That is primarily because oil imports from the Middle East have declined by 58 percent, while exports have grown by 25 percent. [Text] [Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 27 Sep 82 p 25] 9287

CSO: 3639/2

FRENCH FIRMS PLAN BUSINESS WITH VIETNAM

Paris L'USINE NOUVELLE in French 23 Sep 82 p 152

[Text] French firms have already been doing business in Vietnam, where France is selling about 400 million francs' worth of goods per year. Fives-Cail, SOGEE [expansion unknown], Polysius, SACM [expansion unknown], Cables de Lyon have all participated in or piloted important equipment projects. For the future, it seems that three sectors will be especially attractive: energy, communications and agriculture.

/Energy/ [in boldface]. The most important and most quickly exploitable potential is coal, which is of very high quality. Extracted essentially from the Hong-Gai mines around Along Bay, in the northern part of the country, it could constitute a large part of Vietnam's export income if the necessary investments are agreed upon. In 1981 production for export reached 900,000 tons, while in 1976 it was over 1.2 million tons. The objective of the authorities is to bring exports up to 2 million tons per year, for a total production of 6 million. A mission from the French Coal Board has already gone to Vietnam, and a plan to trade equipment for coal is currently being studied. For oil, the prospects are less clear. Three western companies, Bow Valley (Canada), Deminex (FRG) and AGIP [National Italian Oil Company] (Italy), had started exploration in the South China Sea, off Vung Tau. They abandoned exploration without anyone knowing precisely why. It would seem that after finding traces of hydrocarbons these companies wanted to renegotiate their partnership contract with Vietnam and met with a refusal. Soviet technicians took over. But considering the paucity of the results they are obtaining, secret conversations may be taking place, probably in Singapore, between the Vietnamese and the Elf-Aquitaine group.

/Communications/ [in boldface]. Vietnam's major problem is the road infrastructure which was very badly damaged during the war and has been only imperfectly reconditioned, or the telecommunication systems, which are in a state of advanced deterioriation. In recent weeks Thomson technicians went to Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi especially to study the renovation of the Vietnamese television system: the one in the north operates on the Soviet standard, the one in the south is still under American standards.

/Agriculture/ [in boldface]. This is where investment is most necessary for the short term. Despite rich land, grain production is scarcely enough to feed the population. The south, of course, has a surplus. But, strangely, these

[illegible] rely head for the north. T[illegible] the authorities are aware that they must act on two levels: increase the practical means and form a local processing industry to re-export the finished products. In these sectors, the French firms hold good cards.

8946
CSO: 3519/34

BANK CHIEF CONCERNED OVER WORSENING TRADE BALANCE

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 17 Sep 82 p 11

[Article by Ib Christiansen, deputy chief, the Danish Bank]

[Text] Denmark's balance of payments has deteriorated considerably in the course of 1982. Last week, the Danish Department of Statistics published the deficit for the first 6 months of the year. It amounted to 10.7 billion kroner as against 5.8 billion kroner in 1981. The table shows the distribution of the total deficit on the individual transactions of Danish foreign trade.

As has been pointed out quite often, the most conspicuous feature is the fact that the interest payments on the foreign debt increase sharply. During the first 6 months of the year, the net interest payments to foreign countries thus amounted to nearly 8 billion kroner as against 5.6 billion kroner during the same period last year. The high international interest level and the development especially in the U.S. dollar rate of exchange naturally play a major role in explaining the growth ascertained in the interest payments.

Rather more serious, however, is the fact that the other components of the balance of payments, at the same time, develop in an unfavorable direction. As shown in the table, the first half of 1981 saw a small surplus on Denmark's total commodities and services transactions with foreign countries. This year, this surplus has changed into a deficit.

It is especially the exports which have caused disappointments during the first 6 months of the year. The increase in volume is limited to a couple of percent at the same time as the import has increased by nearly 5 percent in fixed prices. A minor improvement in the terms of trade has been unable to obviate this development in our foreign trade.

The foreign economic development during the second half of the year is, of course, uncertain. The currency adjustments within the EMS [European Monetary System] cooperation last June--when the par rate of exchange of the Danish krone was reduced by 4.25 percent in relation to the West-German mark will, gradually, improve the competitiveness of Danish enterprises in the export markets as well as at home. It is also to be hoped that the drop in interest rates in the international markets will contribute to raising the level of

activity among our most important trade partners, and that it will ease the interest burden of the foreign debt.

However, the positive effects of such a development will not show up immediately. For 1982 as a whole we, therefore, at the present time must expect a total balance of payments deficit of nearly 20 billion kroner, approximately 17 billion kroner of which will be interest payments.

The current deficit may be financed either through foreign loans raised by the public sector (state, counties, municipalities, concessionary companies), through foreign loans raised by enterprises or simply through drawings on our foreign exchange reserves. It will appear from the table that, during the first 6 months of the year, the private sector did not contribute to the financing of the balance of payments deficit. Since then, the interest level abroad has dropped by 2 to 3 percentage points, and foreign loans have, to a certain extent, been raised by the private sector.

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CSO: 3613/3

WORSENING CURRENCY RESERVES SITUATION EXAMINED

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 10 Sep 82 Sect III p 4

[Article by Frank Dahlgaard]

[Text] The Central Bank has unlimited foreign exchange reserves behind it which may be thrown in to maintain the krone rate of exchange. During the last few days, more than one third of the ordinary foreign exchange holdings have disappeared to foreign countries on account of a fear of devaluation, but the Central Bank is well prepared.

The enormous wave of speculations against the Danish krone caused by the change of government at Christiansborg cannot bring about an uncontrolled decline in the exchange rate of the Danish krone. It is true that the Central Bank is now fighting with 'the speculators,' but there is no doubt that the Central Bank will win the fight.

It is true that between 5 and 10 billion kroner have been taken out of the country since the Social Democratic government resigned last Thursday night, but even if this amount is tantamount to the disappearance from the country of more than one third of the country's foreign exchange reserves, there is no danger. For the Central Bank has got unlimited foreign exchange reserves behind it. The central banks of the other EC countries are obligated to lend us all the foreign exchange funds which we might need on the short view to defend the krone.

Therefore, if a devaluation of the krone will take place, it will not be the result of the enormous speculation and the enormous pressure on the krone rate of exchange but the result of a political decision by the new government at Christiansborg.

Unwritten Rules

Yesterday morning at about 11 a.m., the leaders of the new non-socialist government, Poul Schluter and Henning Christophersen, issued a statement to the effect that "a devaluation does not form part of the economic

policy to be presented by the new government."

It is an unwritten rule in economic policy matters that governments and central banks are allowed to deny that a possibility of devaluation exists right up to the very moment when the currency is devalued after all.

On the other hand, it certainly cannot be denied that the new government has already definitely decided not to devalue the krone as part of the policy to improve our competitiveness. In that case, very strong measures will have to be taken to stop the wage inflation.

The speculation in the krone which we experienced yesterday is the largest one in Denmark throughout the last 4-5 years.

The reason why the speculation started is, of course, that the trades and industries in Denmark expect or fear an early and drastic move on the part of the government which may decisively improve the competitiveness of our enterprises in respect of foreign countries. Here, there are practically no other means than a devaluation of the krone unless, of course, the government wants to carry through a direct wage and price reduction.

Speculation

The 'speculation' which is now exerting a pressure on the krone rate of exchange does not originate in nasty speculators and financiers with top hats and pin-stripped suits. It is due to entirely different circumstances.

In the first place, all Danish exporters have stopped transferring from foreign banks their outstanding foreign exchange credits. According to the Danish foreign exchange regulations, Danish exporters are permitted to wait up to 30 days in transferring their outstanding foreign exchange credits to Denmark. If a devaluation takes place, the exporters will, subsequently, get more kroner for their foreign exchange holdings. So they wait. This is not a matter of mean speculation but is common sense. This means that approximately 8 billion kroner will not be transferred home to form part of the Danish foreign exchange reserves.

In the second place, all Danish importers and import firms have been expediting settment of their accounts abroad. Under the foreign exchange regulations, Danish importers and import firms are not permitted to settle their accounts abroad more than 30 days earlier than agreed upon. Since a Danish devaluation will all at once make foreign exchange more expensive, the trades and industries will, of course, take the opportunity to prepay and expedite payments to foreign countries.

Common sense--not a matter of nasty speculation. But the result is that another 8 billion kroner will leave Denmark if the possibility of prepayment is exploited fully.

In the third place, the servicing of foreign loans is also permitted to take place up to 30 days in advance, and this may in itself cause an outflow of a couple of billion kroner from our foreign exchange holdings.

These circumstances may, altogether, lead to a foreign exchange drain of a maximum of 20 billion kroner, which corresponds to the entire visible foreign exchange holdings as of 1 September 1982. So far, actually well over (an estimated) 5 billion kroner have flowed out of the country since last Thursday night when Anker Jørgensen gave up.

To check the foreign exchange outflow, the new government leaders made public their denial of the possibility of a devaluation, and, at the same time, as of today, the Central Bank suspended all regular borrowing possibilities for private banks with the Central Bank. For the time being, banks and savings institutions may only obtain additional funds from the Central Bank at an interest rate of 21 percent. The purpose is, of course, to make it very costly to borrow money from banks and savings institutions for prepayment of foreign accounts or for any other form of 'speculation' against the Danish krone.

BERLINGSKE TIDENDE here publishes a table, showing Denmark's total foreign exchange holdings. Not only the official foreign exchange figures have been included (item 1) but also the 'invisible reserves' (items 2-6).

The state emergency loans amounting to a total of 17,500 million kroner are loans which the state has raised abroad and which may be transferred home to be included in the Danish foreign exchange holdings at a few days' notice (item 2).

Loans on Certain Terms

As part of the EC monetary cooperation, the other central banks within the EC are obligated to grant us an unlimited amount of short-term foreign exchange loans if it should become necessary to give assistance to the krone.

The Central Bank provides its assistance to the Danish krone by purchasing Danish kroner with foreign exchange. In so doing, it causes a drain on our foreign exchange holdings, but, as mentioned earlier, we are able to borrow unlimited amounts from the other EC countries. In addition, under the so-called swap arrangements, the Central Bank may borrow a total of ,755 million kroner from the other Nordic central banks as well as from the U.S. central bank (item 4).

Items 5 and 6 of the table show our borrowing possibilities with the International Monetary Fund and with the EC, which loans, however, may only be raised on certain terms. So far, we have not made use of these possibilities of borrowing foreign exchange, but if we shall lose our creditworthiness completely, it will be time to request such loans. And, in

that case, we shall have to submit to the requirements and terms made by Brussels and Washington.

The table clearly shows that the foreign exchange defense of the krone rate of exchange is enormously great, and that the krone cannot be undermined by an uncontrollable development.

DENMARK'S VISIBLE AND INVISIBLE FOREIGN EXCHANGE RESERVES

		MILL. KR.
1.	ACTUAL FOREIGN EXCHANGE HOLDINGS:	
	GOLD RESERVES	4,759
	PAPER GOLD (SDR) [SPECIAL DRAWING RIGHTS]	1,505
	RESERVES POSITION IN INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND	859
	HOLDINGS OF ECU [EUROPEAN CURRENCY UNITS]	1,631
	CENTRAL BANK'S HOLDINGS OF ORDINARY FOREIGN EXCHANGE, NET	11,219
	TOTAL OFFICIAL FOREIGN EXCHANGE RESERVES	19,973
	PRIVATE BANKS' HOLDINGS OF ORDINARY FOREIGN EXCHANGE, NET	÷ 628
	DENMARK'S TOTAL FOREIGN EXCHANGE RESERVES	19,345
2.	STATE'S EMERGENCY LOANS	
	(UNDRAWN CREDITS ABROAD)	17,500
3.	UNLIMITED BORROWING POSSIBILITIES for	
	SHORT-TERM CREDITS FROM CENTRAL BANKS OF THE OTHER EC COUNTRIES	-
4.	SWAP CREDIT AGREEMENTS	2,755
5.	BORROWING POSSIBILITIES IN INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND	19,800
6.	EC-BORROWING POSSIBILITIES	
	SHORT-TERM ASSISTANCE LOANS	2,150
	MEDIUM-TERM ASSISTANCE LOANS	?
	EUROPEAN COMMUNITY LOANS	?

Denmark's visible and invisible currency reserves as of 1 September 1982. As appears from the table, on the short view, Denmark has unlimited means to throw in to assist the krone rate of exchange.
Source: The Central Bank and the Ministry of Finance.

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CSO: 3613/3

KRONE EXPERIENCING WORST CRISIS IN YEARS

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 10 Sep 82 Sect III p 4

[Article by Frank Dahlgaard]

[Text] The change of government at Christiansborg has led to the worst krone crisis in years. Several currency dealers tell BERLINGSKE TIDENDE that we have to go all the way back to the days prior to the EC referendum in September-October of 1972 to experience anything corresponding to the foreign exchange panic yesterday.

Per Møller, deputy director and chief of the Foreign Exchange Department of the Danish Bank: "There has been a drain on our foreign exchange reserves of more than 5 billion kroner during the last 3-4 days. Things are extremely hectic, and the new government's official denial of a devaluation has not helped the least."

After the foreign exchange quotations yesterday noon, the Central Bank apparently stopped purchasing Danish kroner with foreign exchange to assist the krone, and the result was that, in the course of the afternoon, the Danish krone was devalued by 2 percent in relation to the West German mark. As a result, the krone is now quite close to the bottom of the EC currency spiral, where the West German mark rate of exchange must not increase any futher, i.e. where the Central Bank is obligated to stop any further increase in the rate of exchange through a large-scale sale of its currency reserves.

When, shortly before noon, the Central Bank cancelled, with immediate effect, the access of the banks to borrow cheap money from the Central Bank (at 12 or 15 percent), the day-to-day interest rate of the banks' joint lending market, at a certain point yesterday afternoon, soared to over 50 percent!

The Central Bank has stated that the banks may, for the time being, borrow from the Central Bank at an interest rate which will be at least 21 percent but which may easily become much higher if the situation should require it.

Jan Kristensen, chief of the foreign exchange department of the Private Bank: "Last Thursday afternoon, the situation became quite panicky. Everybody wanted to buy foreign exchange at the same time, and the political

statement issued by the new government chiefs has not had any effect at all. There is every indication that the pressure on the krone may continue on Friday and calm around the krone may probably only be restored in two ways: The krone will either have to be really devaluated or the new government will have to make a much stronger economic move in another way."

New Record-High Currency Rates

Last night, a West German mark cost nearly 3.59 Danish kroner and a U.S. dollar 8.90 Danish kroner. In both cases, it is a question of historic record-high rates.

The flight away from the Danish currency is massive, and the panic has affected business, financiers and the man in the street:

Yesterday, people were hoarding foreign currency for travelling purposes at an enormous rate, and one banker last night told BERLINGSKE TIDENDE: "It looks as if the entire population all of a sudden is going abroad on vacation."

Danish bonds and securities abroad are now being sold back, and Danish businessmen expedite all payments to foreign countries. The result has been that yesterday alone several billion kroner worth of valuable foreign exchange flowed out of the country.

Per Møller, chief of the foreign exchange department of the Danish Bank: "We have never before experienced that the Central Bank has suspended the normal borrowing possibilities in the Central Bank. There is a real pressure."

Yesterday, the air was thick with rumors that a devaluation would take place the coming weekend or the weekend after that.

The entire situation is becoming more complicated due to rumors of an impending Swedish devaluation after the elections to the Riksdag this month. If such a devaluation of the Swedish krone should really take place, the Danish competitiveness will be severely affected unless we ourselves follow suit with a Danish devaluation.

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CSO: 3613/3

EMPLOYERS RESORT TO INCREASING USE OF SHORTER WORK HOURS

Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 15 Sep 82 p 20

[Article by Bjarne Kjær]

[Text] Nearly 65,000 Danish wage-earners have been forced into part-time jobs after demands from the enterprises reveal a new report on the working conditions of employees recently published by the Ministry of Labor.

The report shows, at the same time, that it is especially women who, against their will, are forced to accept reduced working hours. The report thus confirms the objections which have been raised against the steady increase in part-time work by the Women's Labor Union and the Domestic Workers' Labor Union. The two large women's unions claim that, due to threats of dismissal, women are, to an increasing degree, being forced to accept part-time work.

The extensive report on the working conditions of employees, the Working Time Study 1982, shows that 59 percent of all wage-earners have a working time of 40 hours per week, while 30 percent, or nearly one third, work less than 40 hours per week. Of the women, 53 percent have less than 40 hours, and, of the men, 10 percent. Eleven percent of Danish wage earners have a weekly working time of more than 40 hours per week.

First Study

The working time study was launched by former Minister of Labor Svend Auken and was to be used in connection with this fall's negotiations with the parties of the labor market.

This is the first study of the actual working conditions of Danes since the sixties and is not least of current interest in connection with the debate on shorter work hours, limitation of and time off for overtime work. The study which was started last spring has comprised interviews with nearly 9,000 persons selected from among the population and ranging in age between 16 and 66 years. The study has been carried out by the Social Research Institute for the Ministry of Labor.

430,920 on Shorter Work Hours

The report shows that it is especially women who have been forced to accept shorter work hours. A total of 21 percent of the country's 2,052,000 wage earners or 430,920 wage earners work shorter hours. Seventy-five percent of the employees on shorter work hours have stated that they work shorter hours at their own request. Ten percent of the wage-earners on shorter hours have answered that they work shorter hours at the request of the enterprise concerned as well as at their own wish. And 15 percent of them have stated that the shorter work hours were solely the result of the wish of the enterprise concerned. That is equivalent to a total of 64,638 wage earners on shorter work hours at the request of the enterprises, and the report shows that it is especially women who are forced to work shorter work hours.

60,000 Jobs Through Overtime Work

The study shows at the same time that 2.5 percent of the total number of 4.4 billion working hours annually in Denmark are carried out as overtime work. On the basis of the figures of the report, the monthly overtime work amounts to approximately 10.2 million overtime working hours. That corresponds to approximately 110 million overtime working hours annually. Converted to full time jobs per year it will correspond to approximately 60,000 new work places.

According to the study, employees in the private sector have more overtime work than employees in the public sector, and they are more often paid for their overtime work.

102,000 Performed Work not Reported to Tax Authorities

It appears from the study that 5 percent of the employees have performed work not reported to the tax authorities--or, as it is called, unrecorded work. That is equivalent to a number of approximately 102,600 having performed work in one way or the other that has not been reported to the tax authorities. That is, however, only 0.5 percent of the total number of working hours. It is stressed, however, that considerable uncertainty exists with respect to this particular study on account of the unwillingness on the part of those interviewed to answer this particular question.

Especially Skilled Workers in Supplementary Training

Twenty-five percent of the wage earners took supplementary training courses in the course of the past year. The study shows that salaried employees who have a longer theoretical education have the highest supplementary training activity, whereas unskilled workers without vocational training have the lowest supplementary training activity.

The report also shows that 23 percent of the wage earners work in shifts, and that the wage earners, on the average, spend half an hour per day on minor breaks, those employed in the private sector having the best possibilities of timing the breaks themselves.

Eight Percent With Extra Jobs

The report, furthermore, shows that 8 percent of the employees have extra jobs, and that independent workers in their extra jobs have nearly twice as long work hours as wage earners. Nine percent of salaried employees state that they have jobs in addition to their main jobs. Among unskilled and skilled workers, it is a question of 5 and 6 percent, respectively.

Finally, the report states that only a little more than half of the independent workers took time off for vacation in 1981 as against 95 of the wage earners. As far as the wage earners were concerned, the average length of vacation was 4.7 weeks, while the average length of vacation of independent workers was 2.5 weeks.

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USSR, FINLAND MEET TO DISCUSS ANNUAL TRADE AGREEMENT

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 23 Sep 82 p 25

[Article: "Exports to USSR To Decrease by A Billion"]

[Text] Finnish exporters may have to prepare themselves for an approximately 1-billion markka reduction in exports to the Soviet Union next year. Those areas in which export quotas have increased the most in recent years will be subjected to the most substantial reductions.

Next year an attempt will be made to keep all of Soviet trade at the present 5-billion ruble level or around 30 billion markkas. This year Finland's exports to the Soviet Union will increase to 16--17 billion markkas.

It is on this basis that negotiations are now being conducted in Helsinki between Finland and the Soviet Union with respect to next year's commodity exchange. The negotiations, which began on Monday at the department level, were raised to the ministerial level on Wednesday when Deputy Foreign Trade Minister A N. Manzhulo arrived in Helsinki from the Soviet Union. The chief negotiator for the Finnish side is Under State Secretary Ake Wihtol.

The problem facing the negotiations this year is the attempt to balance this trade by reducing the surplus valued at 3 billion markkas. The trade surplus has existed for more than a year already since a 2-billion markka surplus was recorded in the accounts payable by the USSR from last year. All in all, the surplus has risen to a all-time high or to 5 billion markkas.

The surplus came about when exports were increased enthusiastically in an effort to make up for the deficit caused by the increased price of oil. The price of oil levelled off, but the export fever did not, and thus an all-time high surplus has been created.

In certain areas exports increased even 90 percent with all the quota overruns in the best year. Now these areas which have increased exports the most -- the chemical industry, consumer goods, and certain processed wood products, among other things -- may find that the peak is now over. However, their exports to the Soviet Union will still exceed the level of several years ago even after slight reductions.

On the other hand, an attempt is being made to achieve a balance by increasing imports, but this means will not provide a quick solution. In those areas in which the Finns would have a significant need for imports there is no need for exports in the Soviet Union.

The Finns hope that trade will be balanced in a few years so that precipitous consequences can be avoided in production as well as in employment.

There are probably good prospects for this in practice since the Soviets have not presented any other alternatives.

For the purpose of improving the Soviet Union's accounts payable it is being proposed in this round of negotiations that the credit limit of the account be raised from 150 million rubles to 300 million rubles or to 1.8 billion markkas. The credit limit was last raised a year and a half ago.

The possibility of changing the debt exceeding the credit limit into a loan may also become a reality in these negotiations.

The negotiations being conducted this week are the first round and it is intended that discussions will be continued later in the fall. An effort will be made to conclude next year's commodity exchange schedule agreement in November--December.

The agreement now being negotiated for next year is the third such agreement in the current general agreement. In concluding the general agreement in 1979 it was estimated that trade for the five-year period of 1981--1985 will amount to a total of 84 billion markkas.

Transport Tug Mars Turned Over to Soviets

Turku--The transport tug Mars was christened and turned over to the Soviets on Wednesday at the Hollming Shipyard.

Mars is the second in a series of seven transport tugs ordered by V/O Sudoimport [All-Union Associaton for the Import of Ships]. The tugs will be delivered this year and next year.

The tugs are intended for harbor operations as well as for providing assistance in extinguishing fires on container- and gas transport ships as well as port structures and facilities.

The thrust of these tugs is equivalent to 75 tons. Their greatest length is nearly 40 meters and their width is 12 meters.

Manzhulo Christened Multiple Use Ship

Turku--Soviet Deputy Foreign Trade Minister A. N. Manzhulo christened V/O Sudoimport's arctic multiple use ship Norilsk, which is the first of a series of nine 20,000 dwt ships, at a ceremony on Wednesday at the Wartsila Shipyard in Turku.

The Norilsk is a 174-meter long, specialized ship, which has been designed for the transporting of various types of exacting cargo as well as for operations in difficult Arctic conditions even at temperatures of -50° centigrade. The ship is equipped with a 40-ton hovercraft, which will make it possible for it to operate in areas where there are no port facilities.

The remaining eight ships in the series will be completed at Wartsila's Perno shipyard where work on the first expansion phase has just been completed. Three of the ships are being fitted with equipment in the new piers, one is in the construction tank and three are in the framework construction phase in the sheet metal hall.

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UNEMPLOYMENT HAS INCREASED BY FOURTH IN LAST YEAR

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 17 Sep 82 p 17

[Text] Unemployment has increased by almost one-fourth in 1 year. At the end of August, there were 121,400 unemployed applicants for work in Finland. That is 22,500 more than a year earlier. The unemployment rate at the end of August was 4.9 percent.

Unemployment dropped sharply by almost 17,000 between July and August of this year. But the drop was due almost entirely to the fact that people laid off in connection with vacations--primarily in the forest industry--went back to work.

The number of people on a short workweek continued to rise, and at the end of August it stood at 12,200--twice as high as in July. These individuals are not counted as unemployed applicants for work. The largest group on a short workweek (over 40 percent) consisted of employees in the metalworking industry.

Worst in Vaasa Region

The gloomiest development clearly occurred in the Vaasa manpower district, where unemployment increased by 50 percent. And in the Tampere and Kouvola districts, unemployment rose by over one-third.

The rise in unemployment was in the 20-percent class even in Helsinki and the Turku manpower district, while the lowest increase this time was in the northern districts, where unemployment was already the highest in the country.

At the end of August, 14,500 available jobs were listed at the manpower offices. That is the same number as 1 year earlier.

Young people--those under 25 years of age--accounted for a good one-third of all the unemployed. There were 37,500 of them at the end of August. The number of long-term unemployed--that is, those continuously unemployed for over a year--totaled 14,300, or 13 percent of all those totally unemployed. Approximately one-third of the unemployed between the ages of 50 and 54 are in this category.

On the average, the people unemployed at the end of summer had been without a job for 26 weeks.

In August, 600 unemployed persons were placed in government-sponsored jobs, while 4,200 found jobs through municipal employment services.

At the end of August, 6,800 were placed in jobs subsidized by the central government, and 17,700 were hired for jobs subsidized by local governments, while [illegible] applicants for work started retraining courses in August.

Employment training covered 1,800 more people last summer than 1 year earlier. At the end of July, their number was 12,700.

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ARTICLE PROFILES NEW PRIME MINISTER POUL SCHLUTER PROFILED

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 12 Sep 82 Sec I p 1

[Article by Solveig Rodsgaard]

[Text] A portrait of the nation's new prime minister, who behind an apparently superficial manner conceals strong elements of robustness, toughness and patience.

Poul Schluter is rejoicing. Not least, of course, because time and political circumstances have made it possible for Denmark to have a Conservative prime minister today--a thing that only a few years ago was regarded as completely impossible. But probably most because he is now getting the challenges that are the prerequisite for functioning politically. Poul Schluter loves a fight. He likes challenges. That is why most Conservatives regard him as the right man in the right place at the right time.

In many periods after Poul Schluter became the leader of the bankrupt Conservative Party in 1974, there were not enough challenges for an active Conservative policy in Folketing. That led many o think that Poul Schluter was too superficial and indifferent in those periods.

Others feel that Poul Schluter's apparently superficial manner should instead be called robustness, toughness and patience. Qualities that enabled him to survive mentally as the leader of the party during its period of decline.

In those "dreadful years," Poul Schluter was famous at Christiansborg for always being in a good mood, quick to come up with amusing remarks, friendly and accommodating--in contrast to others in the Folketing group who found it hard to mobilize a fighting spirit or to see anything funny in the situation.

It was not at all pleasant to be a Conservative in those years. To be thrown out of the illustrious old group room, Number 28, because the Folketing group had dwindled to 10 people and to hear remarks from members of former government coalition parties such as: "Well, which telephone box are you holding your group meetings in?"

Advisers

When Poul Schluter, as group chairman, began gathering up the pieces of the Conservative Party in 1974 after the preceding years of exhaustive fighting between Erik Ninn-Hansen and Erik Haunstrup Clemmensen over the party's political course, the initial priority was to get the party to hold together again organizationally. This was accomplished within a few years.

The party's political line was mapped out by Poul Schluter in close cooperation with Erik Ninn-Hansen and Ib Stetter. The close political cooperation with Ninn-Hansen has continued. Many note that on this point, the generation shift in the Folketing group has not been carried out. Political advice still comes from the veterans, even though the political spokesman, Palle Simonsen, is now part of the circle for good reasons. But not everyone considers it wise that the younger people in the group are not involved to a greater extent in the political and tactical work.

Conservative Youth

Poul Schluter is 53 years old and although he has been a member of Folketing since 1964, he is regarded as the representative of the younger generation in the party and as the man who helped to renew the image of the Conservative Party in recent years.

The new prime minister has been in politics since he was in school. He grew up in Haderslev--his father was a merchant--and became chairman of the Haderslev Conservative Youth [KU] group when he was 15. He continued his political work in KU while he read law at Arhus University and in 1952 he became national KU chairman. Poul Schluter moved to Copenhagen, studied at Copenhagen University, worked energetically for KU and held down a job on the side. For a while he had a small firm together with another KU member. The firm imported and sold East German films.

When Poul Schluter left his chairmanship and quit working for KU in 1955, he had more time to devote to his studies. But he only got a Second in his final examination. While he met his compulsory service obligations in the navy, he took up his books again, signed up to take the examination over and received a good First in 1957.

In his KU period, Poul Schluter was also very involved in international cooperation. He was twice a delegate to the international congress of the World Associations of Youth and was also national chairman of Junior Chamber Denmark in 1961 and vice president of Junior Chamber International in 1962.

Southern Jutland

But politics was still the most important thing for Poul Schluter. In 1953 he was the country's youngest Folketing candidate, running in four districts in Haderslev and other county districts. He was and still is fond of

Southern Jutland and this gave him problems later on. When Poul Schluter ran in Haderslev and Augustenborg districts in the 1964 election, he promised his voter association executives that he would move to Southern Jutland if he was elected to Folketing.

Poul Schluter was elected. But he did not move to Southern Jutland. He found it impossible to hold down a lawyer's job in Southern Jutland and at the same time deal with the political work in Folketing. Even though time heals many wounds, a number of Southern Jutland residents have not forgotten this episode.

Struggle

But quite different tasks awaited the young member of Folketing. Poul Sorensen--called the party proprietor by many--had chosen Poul Schluter as the leading Conservative candidate in Gladsaxe in the 1966 municipal election. The energetic and famous Social Democratic mayor Erhard Jacobsen was to be overturned by the Conservatives. Poul Schluter had to become a resident of Gladsaxe. He was also nominated as Folketing candidate in Gladsaxe.

Poul Schluter did not manage to topple Erhard Jacobsen, however. But he became deputy mayor of Gladsaxe until he had to give up municipal politics in 1971 to become political spokesman in Folketing. From his time in Gladsaxe, Poul Schluter got an excellent taste of what he can expect in cooperating with Erhard Jacobsen's party.

Poul Sorensen

The fact that Poul Sorensen selected Poul Schluter to act as the strong man against Erhard Jacobsen is still a puzzle to many people. It is no secret that relations between Poul Sorensen and the young Poul Schluter were not especially warm. Poul Schluter did not have any big political posts in the VKR [Liberal-Conservative-Radical Liberal] government, although he was a member of the Radio Council and acted as foreign policy spokesman.

But when the Conservatives returned to the opposition role after the 1971 election, Poul Schluter became political spokesman. Ninn-Hansen became group chairman and Ib Stetter became deputy chairman.

Conflict

Many believe that the reason why Poul Schluter became the man who was to try to resurrect the party in 1974 was that he had lightly and elegantly kept himself hovering above the internal battle in the party. But that is incorrect. In several decisive situations, Poul Schluter took the side of the Ninn-Hansen wing. Incidentally, he did so without blinking, even though no one knew what the situation would be like in the future. It was also Ninn-Hansen who wanted Poul Schluter to succeed him as group chairman.

Half a year later, Poul Schluter also became party chairman, succeeding Erik Haunstrup Clemmensen.

Mediator

It was in this period as party chairman and group chairman that Poul Schluter showed the qualities that have convinced most Conservatives that he has good possibilities as prime minister in a coalition government with difficult negotiations both internally and externally.

He has a definite conciliatory attitude and would very much like to mediate cooperation, as they say.

"And then he is a modern man in the best sense. He has the ability to express himself both in writing and orally, using up-to-date language and that is of great importance for a prime minister," others said.

Fear

Although Conservative officials are glad and proud that the party has now come into a position where the party could supply the prime minister, some of them also have a certain amount of fear that the prime minister job might be more difficult than expected. That the exposed cards will have to be played after all the Conservative statements about the policy that is needed. And can words then be translated into action?

Others say that this is precisely the challenge Poul Schluter has been waiting for after having worked his party up again to become the second largest party in Folketing and establishing excellent cooperation with the Liberal Party which is regarded by many Conservatives as their historical archenemy.

Poul Schluter does not exactly share that view. He has never kept it a secret that his wish--his youthful vision, as he has called it--was a union of the Liberals and the Conservatives. But the new prime minister has also admitted that such an idea has not exactly fallen on fertile soil. Today the Conservatives are also very happy to stress that it is their party that appeals most to nonsocialist voters.

6578
CSO: 3613/2

COMMENTATOR LOOKS AT SCHLUTER, PRAGMATIC CONSERVATIVE

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 12 Sep 82 p 2

/Commentary by Axel Waldemarsson: "Schluter--Man and Party"/

> /Text/ "When the non-socialists received a majority in the Storting in 1965 and were to form a government which in any case could count on staying in power for 4 years, Lyng did not become prime minister. I am of the opinion that there is perhaps general agreement that Lyng was the most suitable of the candidates who could come into question. When he was not chosen, it was more for reasons of party tactics....
>
> Former Prime Minister Einar Gerhardsen (Social Democrat) in "I pakt med fremtiden" /In a Pact With the Future/ (1975).

Einar Gerhardsen's remark is quite correct. Narrow party-tactical reasons caused the small parties to outmaneuver the most suitable prime minister. At the same time emotional evaluations had the result that the Conservative Party excluded the next best candidate, Bent Roiseland of the Liberal Party. The representatives of city culture could not tolerate the puritan, marked by the domestic mission movement and teetotalism environment of the Vestland.

Rational reasons far from always determine who will become head of the government. An argument cultivated in the Nordic countries, for tactical reasons as well, has been that a conservative could never become prime minister at all in a Nordic country. Reality has effectively dispersed this bizarre but nevertheless troublesome contention: Poul Schluter took office this year in Denmark as the third conservative prime minister in the Nordic countries.

Forced Out

Swedes know very little about the particular political geography of the [illegible]. It causes a stir this side of Oresund that our southern neighbor has [illegible] its first conservative prime minister since 1901. Few are aware that the Conservative Party as a political force is primarily a child of relatively modern times.

It had long been forced out by the Liberal party with its deep roots in Grundtvig's spirit and the people of the advanced school movement.

In order to correctly understand Danish politics and party life it is necessary to remember the constitutional conflict which preceded the democracy: It was far tougher and more embittered than usual. The unyielding landowner and mathematician Jacob Estrup ruled by means of the Landsting (first chamber) and emergency power acts. But the fight was won. The Bredgade society, as it was called at that time, had to withdraw to lick its wounds.

The old Conservative Party disappeared in 1915. The Konservative Folkeparti /Conservative Party/ was formed. It has in fact had a weak and slightly bohemian party organization. On the other hand, it had available to it one of the most glorious generations of politicians that any Nordic party has ever had: Christmas Moller, Ole Bjorn-Kraft, the brothers Aksel and Poul Moller and Poul Sorensen--all prominent resistance men in the underground liberation movement against Hitler's occupying forces.

Poul Sorensen was imprisoned by the Gestapo on the top floor of the Shell building, when the British bombed it. Sorensen threw himself into the street, was injured, played dead when some Gestapo men looked him over, survived and became social minister in the Hilmar Baunsgaard non-socialist government.

Beer--and Politics

Denmark's conservatives have long appeared more radical than the party brothers in the rest of the Nordic countries. In a way I have a feeling that the memories of the past drew them in that direction. The party has never had a position as an extremist party but was located to the right of center, but still in the center.

Just now I remember the young Poul Schluter. We were sitting in my home at 145 Riksradsvagen in the southern suburbs of Stockholm. We had come back from one of the Nordic meetings of young conservatives at which exuberant new ideas were conceived and profound programs were created. The young Danes prided themselves on their pragmatic attitudes--besides teaching us to drink beer.

It is not difficult to remember Schluter's reasoning, to which he has often returned:

"It happens that someone calls the Conservative Party a pragmatic party. It is true enough that we are not plagued by dogmas or political patent formulas. It is also true that we wish to free people from the spiritual yoke of the ideologies. But otherwise the Conservative Party is chock-full of ideas and attitudes."

'Then I Resign'

When Mogens Glistrup overnight and by way of the television screen became Denmark's tax prophet, the Conservatives in one district hurried to enter him as a candidate for the Folketing.

[illegible]," said Poul Møller, minister of finance at the time. "In that case I [illegible] my office!"

[illegible] hardly unthinkable for Møller to have a man who paid zero taxes, who [illegible] allowed himself to be pictured at a swimming pool in the luxury category, in the ranks of the Conservatives. Glistrup disappeared as a candidate [illegible] many votes. The boundary was kept clear. Schluter also succeeded [illegible] the support of the Progressive Party for his government without [illegible] Glistrup in the bargain. However, even before the government has taken [illegible], Glistrup has begun his sneak attacks.

[illegible] Year

[illegible] always choose the time for the assumption of political power. The [illegible] have barely overcome their crisis, a crisis which hit hard. The [illegible] suffered its greatest election defeat in 1975 and received only 5.5 percent of the votes. A few months later the Conservatives in an opinion poll had [illegible] as low as 3.0 percent--the barrier for the Folketing is 2 percent. The [illegible] percent were recorded!

[illegible] mean, then, to be a Conservative?

[illegible] posed the question in his major speech at the party's national [illegible] in Aarhus in 1973 and answered: struggle and cooperation, ideology and [illegible]:

"According to an old Conservative maxim, one must change in order to keep. For [illegible] is too old-fashioned a concept. We simply want to change in order to [illegible] something new and something better. But then there must also be a link [illegible] between the society we know from yesterday, the one we live in [illegible] the one we create for tomorrow. We wish for neither a stagnant nor [illegible] economy. We work for progress....

[illegible] Warts of Philosophy

[illegible] invitations to cooperate take place between Social Democrats and Con[illegible] and vice versa.

[illegible] secret that Schluter admires Anker Jørgensen's endurance and clever [illegible] in coping with difficult political situations. Schluter sometimes also [illegible] people of the cooperation which occurs in some areas between Social [illegible] and Conservatives. He has also spoken of the existence of areas in [illegible] where the two have points in common--and that Denmark would be [illegible] if this were not so.

[illegible] man does not have control over his destiny. More struggle than co[illegible] [illegible]. Schluter is not likely to have any use for the philoso[illegible] [illegible] which he once used as provocation.

[illegible] philosophy was based on two fundamental elements. First, a majority cap[illegible] should enter into a binding agreement, which, second, should in[illegible] [illegible] the politicians:

"It ought to decide to follow a hard line for the next 4 years and not deviate from the agreed basis and retire when the task has been satisfactorily completed. The task must necessarily be solved without some people trying to force others into an ideological reorganization of the Danish institutions. The thinking about this can be resumed at the end of the 4 years."

The world of philosophy is far indeed from that of practical politics!

114.9
CSO: 3100/237

ECONOMIC CRISIS LEADING TO NEW GOVERNMENT EXAMINED

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 12 Sep 82 p 5

[Article by Frank Dahlgaard]

[Text] "Why doesn't Prime Minister Poul Schluter come right out with the truth, namely that we cannot avoid a declining real wage in the next few years? We have lived above our means for 22 years and now real wages must go down."

That is what Thrige-Titan director Steen Dano said to Poul Schluter Friday evening in a direct TV news broadcast after the shift in government, but the new prime minister did not disagree with him. Real wages cannot avoid declining.

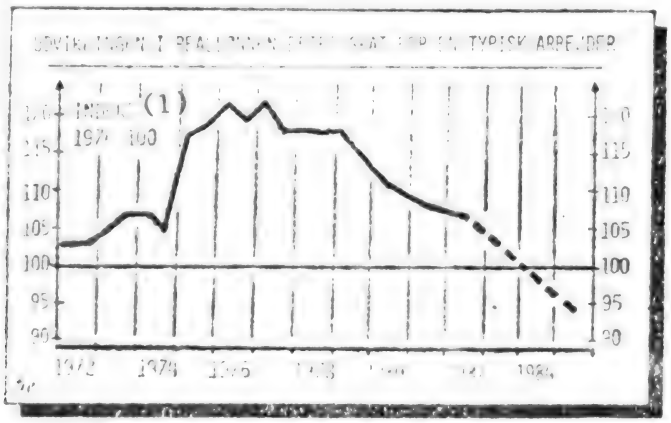


Chart: Development of Real Wages After Taxes for a Typical Worker.

This is how real wages after taxes developed for a typical fully-employed LO [Federation of Trade Unions] worker. In 1982 real wages after taxes are about 6 percent above the 1970 level, but all calculations indicate a further strong decline in real wages over the next 3 years. Source: Economic Affairs Ministry, supplemented with estimates.

Key: 1. Index, 1970 = 100.

With the help of economic experts, BERLINGSKE TIDENDE has figured out the hitherto secret figures behind the Social Democratic government's move on 1 September--the "negotiation plan" that was to be the Social Democratic government's last. No one in the Budget Office or in the Economic Ministry wanted to say anything, but top independent economists told BERLINGSKE TIDENDE that the situation was as follows:

Two Requirements

If the Danish economy is to be straightened out in the near future, the typical wage earner cannot avoid a decline in real wages after taxes of more than 10 percent in the next 3 or 4 years. This decline in real wages is almost as large as the decline that has already occurred since 1977 (see the diagram).

The economic experts told BERLINGSKE TIDENDE that if no effective steps were taken now, the decline in real wages would simply come a little later, but it would then be larger.

These bleak prospects for the real wages of workers were what caused the Social Democrats to turn over the reins of government without putting up a fight.

The basis for the figures is that economic growth in the West will remain modest and interest levels will remain at a fairly high level. If one wishes to stabilize the deficit in state finances at around 65 billion kroner under these circumstances, it will require quite harsh measures in two areas:

First of all, Denmark's competitiveness with other countries must be improved by around 5 percent a year in each of the next 3 years. This means that in each of these years we must increase our share of the foreign market by 2-3 percent, as we did in 1979-1981. If this enormous improvement in competitiveness is to be achieved solely with the help of wage restraints, it will take something like a total freeze on all wage increases. Wage inflation abroad is namely around 5-7 percent annually.

Secondly, it will require a national budget improvement of 10 billion kroner in each of the next 3 or 4 years. If these budget improvements are to be made solely through increases in the value-added tax, for example, it would require an increase of 5 percent each year in the value-added tax, so that in 1985 this tax would be 37 percent instead of the current 22 percent.

In practice, the calculation models show that the most effective budget improvement would be achieved by cutting income transfers (unemployment compensation, social assistance, pensions, etc.) perhaps in combination with certain tax increases and savings in the area of public services.

Without a tax on interest, the new four-party government will thus have to present a savings proposal that is more than twice as large as the one presented by the Social Democratic government on 1 September.

For the average employed wage earner such a policy would lead to a decline in disposable real income of a good 10 percent by 1985. If one avoids the tough cure outlined here, one might be able to postpone the real wage decline for a while, but the decline would only be that much larger later on, the economists told BERLINGSKE TIDENDE.

In other words there is no way around the hard policies of competitiveness and savings cuts.

CSO: 3613/2

PROGRESSIVE PARTY GIVES TACIT SUPPORT TO NEW GOVERNMENT

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 12 Sep 82 p 2

[Article by Dan Axell]

[Text] The Progressive Party will not think twice about overturning the new government if it merely maunders along without tackling the problems. The first clash between the Progressive Party and the government is expected when Minister of Internal Revenue Isi Foighel in October will be fixing the minimum tax-deductible amount for 1983.

"An election is more or less bound to result from the internal disagreements within the government," Mogens Glistrup tells BERLINGSKE TIDENDE. "The very statement by the government shows that the four parties are not agreed. For it does not say anything--it more or less resembles some kind of intermediate school essay."

In order for the preliminary assessments of incomes to be ready, the EDP equipment of the Ministry of Internal Revenue will have to have the minimum amount deductible for income tax purposes for 1983 encoded by 20 October 1982. "And, here, we shall try to have the tax deductible amount increased to up to 45,000 kroner," says Mogens Glistrup. "The amount proposed by Knud Heinesen in the budget proposal--18,000 to 19,000 kroner--is far too low."

Mogens Glistrup says that the majority within the Radical Liberal Party and the Progressive Party will favor a sharp increase in the minimum amount deductible. "But we shall now find out if the government is sufficiently strong to do it. For it will also have the effect of an incomes policy measure for the benefit of the lowest income groups," says Mogens Glistrup.

Glistrup refers to the statement made by the government on its assumption of power as "disappointing and inexact." "And it certainly does not indicate that the government will be able to agree on effective solutions," says Mogens Glistrup, who believes an election will take place in early 1983. "As you know, it has gradually become a law of nature that we have an election in Denmark in odd years."

"And if internal disagreements do not fell the government quickly, we shall do it if we suspect that its only purpose is to secure pensions for its ministers by remaining in power for 1 year," Mogens Glistrup says.

CSO: [illegible]

POLL ANALYZES VOTER PRIORITIES DESIRED FOR NEW GOVERNMENT

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 12 Sep 82 p 7

[Article by Gallup Institute director Asger Schultz, B.A. Political Science]

[Text] It is the overwhelming opinion among the public that the current economic situation appears to be what might be called unusually poor.

In the context of the well-known fable of the wolves and the sheep, this expression implies that Denmark's economic situation in "normal" times is always poor but it is now even worse than it usually is.

This appears from a survey the Gallup Institute carried out after the publication of the fatal budget proposal for the coming fiscal year.

Since after many years of repeatedly gloomy economic forecasts, one must now count on a certain "vaccination effect," we asked a representative section of the adult Danish population, consisting of around 1,000 respondents, the following question:

"For years we have heard the politicians telling us that Denmark's economic situation is very serious and will get worse and worse. Now we are hearing the same phrases again, at an even more intense level, with Denmark's economic situation assuming an almost catastrophic character. Do you think it is true that the economic situation is now extraordinarily poor or do you think the economic situation has simply become normally worse, in a manner of speaking?" The vast majority, between half and two-thirds (58 percent) of the respondents held the view that the current situation can be classified as catastrophic or extraordinarily poor and only a third of them (33 percent) regarded the economic situation as "normal."

Regardless of what the respondents meant by the word "catastrophic," one can say at any rate that the message of the politicians in the last few months, repeated almost ad nauseam, concerning the economy has been absorbed and approved by the voters, although this is least true of the non-right wing voters.

The answers to the question were distributed in this way among selected groups of the population:

Group	Extraordinarily poor	"Normally" poor	Don't know	Total
All respondents	58%	33%	9%	100%
By political affiliation:				
Right of Social Democrats	74	21	5	100
Social Democrats	47	46	7	100
Left of Social Democrats	47	48	5	100
Employed in Public or Private sector:				
Public	53	40	7	100
Private	59	36	5	100
Unemployed	53	43	4	100
Not on job market	58	27	15	100
Member of LO [Danish Federation of Trade Unions]:				
Yes	50	45	5	100
No	62	29	9	100

A question concerning how the poor economic situation manifested itself showed that when voters size up the situation they pay most attention to the balance of payments deficit.

Second in importance is unemployment, followed by the treasury deficit and inflation.

An attempt was made to find out how respondents thought the problems should be combatted by asking this question:

"What do you think should be done to correct the economic situation--cut public spending, keep wages down, impose higher taxes or increase the value-added tax (V.A.T.)?" The answers are given on the next page.

The key words in the present situation are quite obviously "public spending cuts" and "wage restraint," while one could say of increasing income taxes or the value-added tax that neither is a winner. Both were flatly rejected.

It is interesting to note that the pattern is the same--though it varies in degree--among all voters. However it is apparent that the further one moves to the left of the political spectrum, the higher the percentage of "don't know" answers.

Those on the left wing are not very enthusiastic about making cuts in the present economic situation.

Group	Cut public spending	Keep wages down	Raise taxes	Raise V.A.T.	Don't know	Total
All respondents	61%	41%	4%	4%	18%	128%
Party affiliation:						
Right of Social Democrats	71	55	4	3	8	141
Social Democrats	58	38	5	7	17	125
Left of Social Democrats	37	33	13	4	36	123
Member of LO:						
[illegible]	62	35	5	5	19	126
[illegible]	63	46	4	4	15	132

[illegible] noteworthy that a third of LO members (35 percent) recommended wage restraint, even though they much preferred public savings (62 percent).

[illegible], the survey shows that the main substance of the political [illegible] since the publication of the budget proposal, namely the sharp deterioration in the economic situation and the need for public savings [illegible] and wage restraints, got out to the voters and was accepted by them.

[illegible] of course does not mean that the voters have given a kind of blank [illegible] for action, regardless of what they are presented with, but it does [illegible] an understanding of a necessity.

[illegible] permitted only if BERLINGSKE TIDENDE and the Gallup Institute [illegible].

[illegible]

PAPER COMMENTS ON VOTER POLL ON NEW GOVERNMENT'S DIRECTION

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 12 Sep 82 p 9

[Editorial: "Toward a Healthier Society"]

[Text] There are some who will say that Denmark's new government is a government that was created for the want of anything better and that it will not be able to do anything different than the Social Democrats would have done. Nothing will be any different, much less better, it is said. The Social Democrats were unable to keep going and will now seek new energy in the opposition, while others must take on all the problems until Anker Jorgensen can return when things have calmed down.

That is how simple it may seem to those who have developed a distate for the function of popular rule and the conduct of the political parties as a result of a decade of parliamentary bungling in an increasing atmosphere of hopelessness about the situation of society. But parliamentary rule is not that despicable and it is certainly not that unimportant that after years of Social Democratic rule the country has gained a nonsocialist-liberal government. The resignation of the Social Democrats was not an accident that could have been avoided and the inauguration of the new government was not just the result of circumstances. It was created as a result of a deliberate effort to break with Social Democratic dominance--emphasized most strongly by the new prime minister--and it involves anticipations that Denmark can find its way to a healthier society in which the future will be based on a policy that is markedly nonsocialist.

A historical perspective makes it reasonable to indicate Christmas Moller as the one who put the Conservative Party on a par with the Liberals and today that party has produced a prime minister for the first time. In 1950, Erik Eriksen, who was a more farsighted politician than most, took the consequences of this parity when he formed the V-K [Liberal-Conservative] government and later maintained that the fellowship between the two parties was a prerequisite for getting a concrete and reliable alternative to the Social Democrats. He foresaw that it could and perhaps should lead to a merger and we should not fail to mention that Poul Schluter has always shared Erik Eriksen's view. Rivalry between the parties has far too often led to abrupt breaks in a line that deserved to be maintained. The Liberals have won great victories in the postwar period by going their own

[illegible], but they have never been able to retain power or hold onto the voters when they acted alone. Only by standing together as equals have Conservatives and Liberals represented a threat to the Social Democrats. This has been confirmed once again.

There is not a majority of the population behind a Social Democratic policy and there never has been. Time after time through the years, parties that definitely represented a different policy and a different government alternative have been able to count on a support that went far beyond the traditional group of voters. It was Hilmar Baunsgaard's break with the Social Democrats and his openness with regard to the Conservatives and Liberals that gave the Radical Liberals the surplus seats that led to the three-party government in 1968. The government that will take up its everyday tasks tomorrow does not have the comfortable majority that Baunsgaard had. On the other hand, there are no thorny issues that could make things unnecessarily difficult for its four participants, as the defense issue did then, for example. Nor does their strength have the shifting character that plagued the Radical Liberals. There is a steadiness in the four parties that have deliberately aimed at creating a viable government alternative and the public will respond with a confidence that will grow if the government shows the persistence and perseverance required by the situation.

Mischievous spirits will play on the theme that these are four parties, each with their own ideas, and skirmishes will probably develop along the way due to the fact that politicians can never avoid thinking of the next election. But we will also see that the dividing lines in the daily work around the cabinet table are not always drawn between the parties. Cooperative effort cuts across party lines and experiences from earlier coaliation governments show that this is healthy for the work of a government. It is primarily the prime minister, of course, who must see to it that situations do not arise within the government that could cause bad feeling. But it is important that all four parties have started with a joint commitment and responsibility the government parties have assumed must affect the positions taken by their Folketing groups and their decision-making bodies. It can be difficult enough to gain respect for this responsibility and it is obvious that it is quite a change to go from years of opposition to supporting a government again.

The task is so great that it must seem overwhelming even for ministers starting with fresh energy. Hope has been created for the public that the development of society may start to look brighter. This will require the courage to take bold initiatives and power to map out a long-range policy. Like all governments, this one too will run the risk that the individual ministers will bog down in administrative problems or become stifled by the daily burden of work. The government and its leading people must seek the inspiration to prevent this in a conviction that they do not represent an emergency government created by the nation's unfortunate situation, but that they have been given a chance to implement a change whose perspectives can be of fundamental importance for the future.

nonsocialist Denmark, which can look back on both victories and defeats, has been given another chance to show that it can lead the development of society. The Poul Schluter government is more than a government intended to solve pressing problems. It must also indicate the course of the future. We already have reason to believe that it will be capable of doing so.

6675
CSO: 3613/2

OPPOSITION WAITING TO EXPLOIT PROBLEMS IN COALITION COOPERATION

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 17 Sep 82 pp 1, 11

[Article by Victor Andersen]

[Text] While they were in the opposition the nonsocialist parties, ranging all the way from the Radical Liberals to the Progressives, were able to demonstrate a common position on several important issues. Now that they have a chance to carry out what they want to their courage and determination may falter somewhat. At any rate, opposition politicians are eagerly looking forward to some concrete issues on which they expect that the past nonsocialist unanimity will be replaced by a fear of taking action and a sense of paralysis. "Then we will see the nonsocialist parties stewing in their own juice," opposition politicians are hoping malevolently. The weekend edition of BERLINGSKE TIDENDE has examined some of these political and gastronomic issues.

From several quarters in the opposition the new government has been given promises of fair play, almost bordering on immunity, at least initially.

But this would not be Denmark and political life would lose one of its strongest sparks if the opposition did not at the same time keep a sharp eye on the issues where the new government can be expected to run into trouble quickly. This watchfulness also includes issues on which the nonsocialist wing, while it was in the opposition, was extremely cocky and belligerent, whereas under the yoke of responsibility it might not be quite so active or even unwilling to act at all. One can already detect a malicious smile playing around the mouths of several opposition politicians.

When Anker Jorgensen Got Cold Feet

An instance of nonsocialist paralysis of action might be expected to occur in connection with the so-called exclusive agreements--in other words the requirement that to get and keep a job with a firm, a person must belong to a particular trade union.

On the Danish job market exclusive agreements have especially been used as a tool to make life difficult for members of the Christian Trade Union.

A few years ago anger over the union use of exclusive agreements had grown so strong among the nonsocialist parties, including the Radical Liberals, that there suddenly seemed to be an absolute majority in Folketing in favor of a total ban. The Christian People's Party, the Liberals and the Conservatives quickly presented a joint bill. Anker Jorgensen saw the risk and got ice-cold feet. If such a proposal, which touched a vital nerve with LO [Federation of Trade Unions] was passed during the lifetime of a Social Democratic government, relations between the government and LO would become intolerably strained. He did what he was forced to do--he elevated the matter to a cabinet issue, in other words threatened the resignation of the government or an election if the majority stood fast on banning exclusive agreements.

That caused the Radical Liberals to waver. Another reason for the Radical misgivings was that it gradually dawned on them how an entirely logical implementation of a ban on exclusive agreements would strike at some practical arrangements in the medical, legal and installation areas, where the assignment of specific tasks and functions requires membership in a specifically named organization.

The Radicals found an intermediate solution, as they have so often before, with a national congress resolution supporting a ban on exclusive agreements in connection with dismissals but not with hiring practices. That was an arrangement LO and the Social Democratic government could also live with and it became a major part of the law that was adopted this spring.

Christian People's Party Raises a Favorite Issue

With Anker Jorgensen's voluntary withdrawal the Radicals now seem liberated, at least for a while, from the self-appointed duty of holding a Social Democratic government afloat. Now the Radical Liberals can come out and say what they really think about exclusive agreements in the LO sector. Now a nonsocialist majority might well fall into the old mutual unanimity again.

Evidently the Christian Trade Union expects that this might happen. At any rate it has made a request to the new government to take the matter up.

One member of the coalition government, the Christian People's Party, has also scented a new climate for this favorite issue and has decided to do something. The newly-elected chairman of the party's Folketing group, Erik Bjerregaard, told us that he might not have great hopes that the Folketing majority had shifted entirely over in favor of a total ban, but that it should be possible to get the Radicals to go along for part of the way. He will now get in touch with the labor minister and the Radicals concerning this matter.

[illegible] Liberal Lone Dybkjaer told the weekend edition of BERLINGSKE TIDENDE that the Radical position is still solidly behind the intermediate solution indicated by the national congress last year. There have been no signs at all prior to this year's congress that they wish to go any further.

Other sources say that Lone Dybkjaer is not the sole representative of the party. Both Jens Bilgrav-Nielsen and Janne Normann are said to be more favorably disposed to the original line of a quite firm ban on exclusions of all forms.

The new labor minister, Conservative Grethe Fenger Moller, was one of those presenting the original nonsocialist bill on the ban and she was also her party's spokesman during the spring debate of the compromise law that was then adopted. During the debate she spoke on behalf of her party against a ban on exclusive agreements solely in connection with dismissals, calling for the inclusion of hiring situations in the ban.

When we asked Grethe Fenger Moller what she would do as minister, her position was that she would like to wait before answering that.

In the meantime, opposition politicians have told the weekend edition that it will be interesting to see whether the new government has the nerve to provoke the Social Democrats by resurrecting the issue. These politicians predict that the government will do nothing. But--they say--it will be somewhat of an embarrassment. The new government will stew in its own juice.

Silent Majority

The same expectation that the government parties will become paralyzed when it comes to acting on something they said in the past applies to the operation of the state Cooperation Committee.

This is the background:

This March an unbroken nonsocialist party wing--extending from the Radical Liberals to the Progressives--presented a proposal to make it possible to be outside a union or other professional organization and still be eligible to become a representative on the state Cooperation Committee. The proposal was presented by Bertel Haarder (Liberal), Grethe Fenger Moller (Conservative), Mogens Voigt (Progressive), Arne Melchior (Center-Democrat), Lone Dybkjaer (Radical Liberal) and Arne Bjerregaard (Christian People's Party)--standing shoulder to shoulder. Part of the background for this [illegible] concrete circumstances of the university librarians in Copenhagen [illegible], where a majority of the librarians were unorganized and were therefore excluded from all internal boards and committees which thus were left to a clear minority.

The Social Democrats opposed the bill which remained hanging in the Folketing Labor Market Committee.

Now we have been told by opposition politicians that it will be interesting to see if the nonsocialist parties that have "sworn allegiance" to each other will present the bill again and implement it now that they have the power to do so. They do not expect this to happen, since they suspect the bill remained bottled up in the Folketing committee because the Conservatives really opposed it. But, as they say, if the bill is not resubmitted it will be one more illustration of a lack of courage, determination and strength in the nonsocialist cooperation. The phrase, "silent majority," will have a new meaning.

The matter comes under the jurisdiction of Finance Minister Henning Christophersen, as employer of state employees. In response to our question, he said he would prefer to wait before making a statement.

Stetter's Clever Maneuvers

The new government has said that it wants to simplify things, to remove unnecessary bodies and cut red tape. The contact committee on industrial policy, which was established during the era of the Social Democratic government, was regarded from the start as a superfluous nuisance by the Industrial Council and thus by the Liberals and Conservatives as well. Now that these parties have come to power, will it be removed with a brisk little announcement?

No, it will not. Industrial Affairs Minister Ib Stetter told us that he will recommend to the government that the committee be retained.

Is this one more thing for opposition politicians to crow about? Not necessarily. Industry opposed the committee out of fear of coming into a hostage position in relation to a Social Democratic government. They feared that the committee, to which LO also belongs, would sneak in things that would be hard for Danish industry to live with. It has not been that bad in practice, but to this date the Industrial Council has not been an enthusiastic member of the contact committee.

Now the government has changed complexion and the committee has suddenly become a place where the new government can conveniently talk to LO. As Industrial Affairs Minister Ib Stetter told the weekend edition: "We will take up both industrial policy and other business matters on the committee."

Who is laughing now? And will LO remain in the committee under the new conditions or will it balk at the restraints, just as the Industrial Council did for so long? LO would like to take part. At least Metalworkers' Union chairman Georg Poulsen told us that we can safely count on his attendance. He thought the committee was a good forum for discussing things that could benefit firms when Erling Jensen was industrial affairs minister and he expects that the same will be true under Ib Stetter.

It is obvious that not everyone is gloating.

CSO: 3613/2

[illegible] NEW POLITICAL SPOKESMAN, WEIGHS OPPOSITION ROLE

Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 15 Sep 82 p 17

[illegible] Kjærl

> Text: "Our task is now to recognize the new political situation: we have got a new non-socialist government, and the Social Democratic Party will be pursuing an opposition policy."

"We will pursue an objective and constructive opposition policy, but our concrete positions on the proposals presented by the new government will depend on the social considerations and the social balance. So far we know nothing in that respect, and we must wait and see what the new government will come up with," the new chairman of the Social Democratic Folketing group, former Prime Minister Anker Jørgensen tells AKTUELT. He has now taken over the post of leader of the opposition to the non-socialist four-party government.

[illegible] expected, Anker Jørgensen took over the post as the new chairman [illegible] Democratic Folketing group. He replaced Ritt Bjerregaard, who [illegible] the new deputy chairman of the group instead of Henning Jensen. Former Minister of Finance Knud Heinesen is taking over the post as the new political spokesman for the Social Democratic Party.

[illegible] Elected Without Any Rival Candidates

[illegible] was elected spokesman for the Social Democratic Party at a [illegible] group meeting at the school of the Federation of Trade [illegible] yesterday. The board of the group nominated Knud Heine[illegible], and no rival candidates were nominated. Actually, both the [illegible] spokesman, Mogens Camre, and former Minister of Labor Svend [illegible] as former Minister of Internal Revenue Mogens Lykketoft were [illegible] themselves as candidates for the said post, but, with [illegible] of Knud Heinesen, there was no suspense in connection with [illegible]. Knud Heinesen was elected with acclamation.

[illegible] Board Members

[illegible] was re-elected for the post of group secretary without voting. [illegible], the election of members of the Board of the Social Democratic group [illegible]. Two of the [illegible] members of the Board, Egon Jensen and [illegible], retired. The following were re-elected for the Board: Børge [illegible] with [illegible] votes, Søren [illegible] Jørgensen with [illegible] votes, Hans Jørgen Jensen [illegible] votes, [illegible] with [illegible] votes, Henning Jensen with [illegible] votes, and [illegible] with [illegible] votes. Newly elected was former Minister of Ecclesi-[illegible] Affairs and [illegible] Affairs Tove Lindbo Larsen with [illegible] votes.

[illegible] were taken by former Minister of Transport J.K. Hansen with [illegible], [illegible] with [illegible] votes, former Minister of Fisheries Karl [illegible] votes, former Minister of Internal Revenue Mogens Lykketoft [illegible], [illegible] with [illegible] votes and Svend Andersen with [illegible] votes.

[illegible], chairman of the Folketing, was re-elected Social Democratic [illegible] committee of the Folketing without any rival [illegible].

[illegible] Cooperation with Radical Liberal Party

[illegible] Folketing group is prepared to continue its election [illegible] Radical Liberal Party in the appointments for the stand[illegible] Folketing. Under the electoral pact, the Social Demo-[illegible] in all Folketing committees of 17 members, the Radical [illegible] seat. The Socialist People's Party and the So-[illegible] expected to continue their election cooperation [illegible] in the standing [illegible]-member committees. That is to [illegible] Democratic Party, the Radical Liberal Party, the So-[illegible] Party and the Socialist Left Party, with a total of [illegible] [illegible] in the Folketing committees, while the four [illegible] and the Progressive Party will get a total of [illegible] seats.

[illegible]

[illegible] Social Democratic Folketing group, the executive [illegible] of Trade Unions, the Cooperative Union and the [illegible] Movement, held at the school of the [illegible] Trade Unions, AmMes Jørgensen as well as the chairman of the [illegible] Christensen, stressed that there is agree-[illegible] of Trade Unions and the Social Democratic Party [illegible] and the social balance of the former Social Demo-[illegible] program must be maintained.

[illegible] pointed out that the new non-socialist government [illegible] the support of either the Federation of Trade Unions or the [illegible] program develops into an [illegible] will have to be included, and the government

[illegible] the increasing profits of enterprises caused by wage re-
[illegible] converted into new investments and thus new work places
[illegible] bearing, and the hitherto tax-free interest
[illegible] amounting to billions of kroner of pension funds, insurance
[illegible], etc., [illegible] have to be included.

PAPER BACKS NEW GOVERNMENT'S BUDGET CUTTING PLANS

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 24 Sep 82 p 10

[Editorial: "Savings Policy"]

[Text] It is the government's intention to try to make sizable savings cuts in public finances. To begin with, there is very good reason to support the government on this position. There is a great socioeconomic need to limit runaway public spending.

But it is important to keep in mind that the savings efforts have several important dimensions. Of course it is important that the efforts lead to a substantial reduction in the much too large--and rapidly rising--state deficit. All cuts in state finances will have that effect, that is unless they just turn up in other areas within the overall national economy.

The savings policy should take its start in the fact that public consumption has grown year after year, even though total production has been stagnant or declining. It has not yet been possible to halt real growth in the public sector in spite of all the words about the necessity of doing so. This has a number of deplorable consequences on resources, because the public sector absorbs resources and labor in a way that permanently deprives the private business sector of what it needs for the necessary expansion. The development also leads to a mounting tax pressure or an increased deficit in the balance of payments, which in turn depresses future economic prospects.

It is urgent that this constant increase in the consumption of public resources be brought to a halt, to start with by setting the objective of a zero growth in public consumption. Former Finance Minister Knud Heinesen's discovery of a so-called two-string spending policy was an attempt to put a smokescreen over a public spending policy that was in fact wrong. The new government should remove this ambiguity.

A savings policy is just as important in the area of social income transfers. This is due not merely because of the immediate possibilities of saving money by doing so but also because developments, particularly in the area of unemployment and assistance payments have seriously disrupted vital economic incentives without which a free economy has a hard time

functioning with a reasonable degree of efficiency. Therefore a savings drive should definitely be launched in this area as well.

Actions, of course, cannot simply be measures that lead to increased state revenues. The only exception might be in setting rates and payments that [illegible] a more reasonable consumption of resources in the areas affected. It should be quite obvious that tax increases are not the same thing as savings."

[illegible]

[illegible]TRUP HANDED DEFEAT BY PROGRESSIVE CONGRESS, FOLKETING GROUP

Youth Leader Expelled from Congress

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 19 Sep 82 p 6

[Article by Lisbeth Knudsen]

[Text] The Progressive Party's controversial local chairman from Helsingor, Bent Holm, was escorted out of the party's national congress in Aarhus yesterday by members of the Progressive Youth organization amidst great tumult. This happened after a heated dispute over a paper that Holm, one of the Glistrup faction on the party's executive committee, had been allowed to pass out at the congress. The paper called several leading party people, among them group chairman Uffe Thorndahl, national chairman V. A. Jakobsen and several Folketing group members "hired assassins, tyrants and specialists in brainwashing."

Attempts were made earlier to expel Bent Holm from the Progressive Party, partly in connection with a number of things he wrote that were directed against the national chairman. The expulsion was prevented by a majority of the executive committee.

One executive committee member, Anker Tang Sorensen, regretted that he had previously voted against expulsion.

Several people asked Bent Holm to leave the congress. He refused to do so at first. During a TV interview in the center of the hall, the shouts at Bent Holm increased in volume. The Progressive Youth people tried to ward off press attention concerning Bent Holm and led him from the meeting to the sound of applause.

Progressive Party Wants Coalition Pact

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 19 Sep 82 p 6

[Text] The Progressive Party wants a firm and longer-lasting cooperation agreement with the nonsocialist government on economic policy. The party

[illegible] request to the government parties from the national congress in [illegible] yesterday via group chairman Uffe Thorndahl.

[illegible] the group chairman and national chairman V. A. Jakobsen said forcefully at the congress that the support of the Progressive Party is necessary for the new government as long as the Social Democrats remain without influence. On the other hand there was an obvious reluctance at the congress to impose conditions on the new government. "Both we and the government must be careful not to trip up," said national chairman V. A. Jakobsen. He added later that the Progressive Party would not do "anything that might lead to having to resign next week, for in that case the Progressives would be blamed [illegible]."

In his political report to the congress, Uffe Thorndahl criticized Prime Minister Poul Schluter for not having investigated the possibility of a government consisting of the four-leaf-clover parties plus the Progressive Party. "Poul Schluter is largely responsible for the fact that we now have a minority government which many people predict will not last long," he said.

At the congress, Uffe Thorndahl called the Radical Liberal Party a "ticking bomb under our popular government," against the background of the party's conduct in the last year. He maintained that the Radicals "sabotaged the formation of a six-party government consisting of the four-leaf-clover parties, the Radical Liberals and the Progressives by means of incredible political prudishness."

Uffe Thorndahl has been one of the major forces behind the Progressive Party's line of cooperation with the nonsocialist parties. At the congress he noted that there has been an encouraging development in the attitude of the other parties toward the Progressives. He predicted that the new government would survive its first year, but that it would run into new problems last August.

"At that time there could very well be considerations about strengthening the government by expanding it to include both the Progressives and the Radical Liberals, but if that is impossible, then with the Progressives [illegible]," said Uffe Thorndahl.

Ellistrup Blamed for Cabinet Seat Denial

[illegible] TIDENDE in Danish 19 Sep 82 p 6

[illegible] Ellistrup's [illegible] demand for the finance minister's post was one [illegible] why the Progressive Party was not included in the new government. [illegible] gave the Radical Liberals an excuse to kick out," said one of [illegible] representatives, Poul Hol, during the debate at the [illegible] congress.

[illegible] of the debate concerned the political situation--but a lot of [illegible] with internal conflicts in the party.

"It is not right that we should use all our time to call each other names. The Progressive Party should not be characterized as a party of cantankerous people," said another youth representaive, John Bisgaard Jensen.

But the debate did deal with relations on the party's six-member executive committee. Treasurer Svend Bowmann criticized the national chairman for not having turned in the necessary spending vouchers. The national chairman called the attack part of the campaign against him in connection with the debate on amendments to the party by-laws.

[illegible] Valbjorn proposed a vote of no confidence in two members of the executive committee, one of them Svend Bowmann, but the proposal was rejected by the people in charge of the congress.

Folketing member and executive committee member Anker Tang Sorensen called for a "revision of the square and stolid attitudes within the party."

Radical Liberal Addresses Congress

[illegible] BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 24 Sep 82 p 2

[illegible] by Oivind Kyro]

> [Text] The Radical Liberals, the Progressives and the communists held congresses last weekend. Interest was primarily concentrated on the first two parties, especially the beginning signs of an internal split which can be detected among the Radicals. But the Progressive Party did not avoid problems either during what its undisputed leader Mogens Glistrup calls "primarily a social event."

Radical Liberal Folketing member Janne Normann received more applause from the Progressive Party congress than she did from her own. Some 800 Progressives were receptive last weekend to her call for a political alliance: "I would like to urge that instead of just fighting each other, we try to unite [illegible] the government we now have to function," said Janne Normann and [illegible] to apologizing for "a certain anxiety among Radicals about coming [illegible] intact with the Progressive Party."

The Radical member's guest appearance in Arhus caused a violent commotion [illegible] the Radicals who were holding their national congress in Nyborg at the same time, until party leader Niels Helveg Petersen spoke up in Janne Normann's defense, saying that she had received the invitation 6 months ago when the situation on the political scene was entirely different.

"[illegible] what I have to say before you criticize me," Janne Normann told [illegible] party colleagues before leaving for Arhus.

[illegible] Radikale had little desire to say anything about Janne Normann's [illegible].

[illegible], member of Folketing: "No comment."

[illegible], member of Folketing: "No comment."

[illegible], member of Folketing: "I do not believe in any co-[illegible] with people who do not go in for democracy. Unless Glistrup's [illegible] that democracy has no place in the Progressive Party are rejected [illegible] Progressives, I think our cooperation will be just as limited as it [illegible] in the past."

[illegible] Congress

[illegible] Liberal Congress, there were preliminary moves toward [illegible] right-wing faction, but after the party had paved the [illegible] Conservative government since 1901, the idea of the fac-[illegible] dropped.

[illegible] political spokesman and deputy chairman Knud Heinesen [illegible] to take to their congress, speaking at a So-[illegible] chairman's meeting: "In recent years the Radicals [illegible] consistent right-wing course. They toppled the [illegible] government and refused to enter into any agreement with [illegible] People's Party, even when they agreed with SF. Now the Radi-[illegible] to the Social Democrats for a loyal cooperation [illegible] the new government. This shows that the Radicals [illegible] that and the Progressives are the parliamentary base [illegible] government," said Heinesen.

[illegible], who was one of a minority who criticized the [illegible] maneuvered the party "into a situation in which [illegible] the cutoff limit and the Progressives." On Sunday, [illegible] an observa pol. that gave the Radicals a decline [illegible], compared to their election re-[illegible].

[illegible] with a twofold resolution that satisfied the [illegible] and on the other promised the left wing to main-[illegible] issues in environmental, energy and defense policy.

[illegible] "[illegible] in an income policy and [illegible] that a [illegible]-year agreement should be [illegible] the labour market factions on control of [illegible] the periodical establishment of wage rates,

[illegible] automatic factors in such things as tempo regulations and [illegible] paragraphs, and increased price control. It was also decided to [illegible] mandatory division of profits and co-ownership at individual [illegible].

Niels Helveg Petersen gave some idea of how much the Radicals are prepared to swallow to support the new government in these words: "We will extend ourselves a great deal so that the government can achieve results," and he said the government could accomplish a lot and have a long life if it goes at things in the right way.

[illegible] spittoons

[illegible] leader Mogens Glistrup triumphed as usual at the Progressive congress, an affair he calls "primarily a social event."

The gathering voted against the proposal by the national chairman, former Major V. A. Jakobsen, now the owner of a laundry, that the party's executive committee be expanded from six to 26 members. Mogens Glistrup had called the proposal "bureaucratic" and threatened to leave the party and form a new "Prosperity Party" if the congress failed to follow him. Glistrup also said they could get along without a national chairman. But this view was not shared by congress delegates who gave V. A. Jakobsen some satisfaction by re-elected him by 562 out of 813 votes cast. And although Glistrup did not vote for Jakobsen as the new national chairman, to the surprise of some press people he took part in the standing ovation when the results were announced.

Glistrup advised his enthusiastic supporters to start the election campaign now, even though a new nonsocialist government has been formed. "It has been formed to call an election," he said and announced that it should not count on the support of the Progressives: "We have been used as floor mats and spittoons by the present government parties which are not inclined to negotiate with us on an equal footing with others." He also criticized the new government for having done no more when it took office than open up the drawers in the ministries to see what government officials had in them. "A poor start is halfway to a repetition of the VKR [Liberal-Conservative-Radical Liberal coalition] fiasco."

Other members of the Folketing group were not so pessimistic in advance about cooperation. "We would also very much like to have a firm and longer-lasting agreement established between us and the government, which would primarily include the Radical Liberals, primarily concerning an economic policy that can lead Denmark away from the edge of the abyss," said Folketing group chairman Uffe Thorndahl.

Mogens Glistrup has a harder time running his own lawyer's practice than his party. The day after the congress, the liquidation of his firm in Copenhagen began because it has produced losses for the last 7 years. Glistrup also revealed that he owes 2 million kroner on an overdraft. But

[illegible] Glistrup will continue his consultation activities from his home: "[illegible] can get advice from me just as well as they can get it from a Hanne [illegible]."

[illegible] and Radicals and Progressives

[illegible] Radical Liberals and Z [Progressives] held their congresses, [illegible] in Copenhagen were given a strong reprimand by party [illegible] at the Danish Communist Party's congress held the [illegible].

[illegible] residents and people looking for homes and [illegible] workers are their opponents because they demand slum clearance, [illegible] and jobs, we will be forced to choose sides against them," [illegible], addressing himself to the young people who have occu- [illegible] in Inner Vorrebro that remain standing prior to their demo- [illegible] that new buildings can be put up.

[illegible] and Z members took the speaker's platform to defend themselves: [illegible] to understand that the desperate living situation of 100,000 [illegible] an objective basis for a massive upturn in favor of [illegible] concrete forms of struggle, we will abandon those who [illegible] who will certainly lead the struggle [illegible]," said a BZ spokesman.

[illegible], which according to the latest opinion poll still lacks [illegible] the electorate to bring it into Folketing, supported [illegible] usual criticism of the Social Democrats. "The policy of [illegible] during the crisis has documented economically and ideo- [illegible] of reformism and has underlined why we must take [illegible] capital and build up socialism," said the chairman [illegible].

Glistrup Defeated in Folketing Group

[illegible] in Danish 1 Oct [illegible] p 3

[illegible]

[illegible] Glistrup suffered a resounding de- [illegible] vote on the political spokesman post [illegible] voted for Glistrup, while eight supported th[illegible] chairman, Ole Maisted, and three backed Leif Glensgaard. [illegible] Glistrup himself.

[illegible] members of the Progressive [illegible] the continued rebellion against [illegible] policy. The

[illegible] government parties gave the result a very positive reception, [illegible] they are hoping for a sensible cooperation with the Progressives and [illegible] a very positive feeling about its group leadership.

[illegible] the vote on the post of political spokesman, Mogens Glistrup tried to prevent the party from electing such a permanent spokesman at all. Glistrup lost that vote 9-4. After that outcome, Glistrup felt he was an obvious choice for the spokesman post, but it went to Ole Maisted. Leif [illegible]'s candidacy along with Glistrup's also caused a stir in the party. [illegible] had been known in the past as a loyal supporter of Glistrup.

The Progressives also chose chairmen yesterday for the committees that have [illegible] allotted to the party. Chairman of the Business Committee will be [illegible] Ask[illegible]r-Jorgensen, the chairman of the Transportation Committee will [illegible] Dohrmann, chairman of the Foreign Policy Committee will be Borge [illegible] and chairman of the Committee on Civilian Readiness will be John [illegible].

[illegible]

[illegible]: [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]--Thure Barsøe-Carnfeldt, as of today an [illegible] with the Folketing group [illegible] membership of another party. It is [illegible] of the Conservative Party or the [illegible]. In a letter to BERLINGSKE TIDENDE, Thure Barsøe-Carnfeldt [illegible] for the last 6 months, he has been contemplating his member- [illegible] last. "Developments within the party's circle of [illegible] and willingness to adapt the party's policy [illegible] conditions--the failure now and then to [illegible] of universal democratic rules for decision- [illegible], the confusion in connection with the nomination [illegible] in the North Jutland county--are some of [illegible] to withdraw immediately from the Pro- [illegible]," Thure Barsøe-Carnfeldt writes. [Text] [Copenhagen [illegible] 7202]

[illegible]--Former Minister of Defense Knud [illegible] and chairman of the Conservative Folke- [illegible] Prime Minister Poul Schluter. Karen Thorup [illegible] chairman, while Henning Dyremose was elected [illegible] Minister of Social Affairs Palle Simonsen. The [illegible] committee are now: Flemming [illegible], [illegible] and Palle Simonsen. It was de- [illegible] Monday that Prime Minister Poul Schluter was [illegible] meeting of the Folketing group. [Text] [illegible] 7202]

[illegible] OF INTENSIFY OPPOSITION TO INF STATIONING

[illegible] in German 27 Sep 82 pp 30-31

[illegible] Friedrich Zimmermann, the CSU representative in Bonn, there are "no [illegible] stationing new U.S. nuclear rockets on West German soil after the end of [illegible] reason is: "People don't care."

[illegible] have their way, the extreme right-wing CSU member and [illegible] prophecies to all who doubt, "the Americans can count [illegible] consent for stationing the rockets much more easily from a Kohl govern-[illegible]."

[illegible] the CDU campaign slogan: "Do right and fear nobody") is certain: [illegible] negotiations in Geneva on limiting medium-range nuclear weapons fail, a Union [illegible] the pressure of the friends of peace of all persuasions and [illegible] U.S. rockets into the country. Mertes, in whose constituency of Bitburg, [illegible] construction work has already begun for the launching ramps of the Per-[illegible]: "We are not a democracy here just to oblige people."

[illegible] strong words, many Christian Democrats are troubled by the thought [illegible] in history as the party of rockets and rearmament. In [illegible] is afraid that a broad front made up of the SPD, the peace [illegible] could escalate the argument about the new medium-range [illegible] conflict resembling a civil war. Their nightmare vision is: a German [illegible] a U.S. soldier, a 1983 Benno Ohnsorg.

[illegible] the peace movement are counting already on an increased following. [illegible] the SPD, the trade unions and the Greens," Petra Kelly, the chair-[illegible], hopes, "will snowball." And Jo Leinen of the League of Citizens' [illegible] Protection (BBU) is counting on "clearcut fronts."

[illegible]. SPD Bundestag delegate Freimut Duve has the impression [illegible] comrades still believes in the stationing, which is planned for [illegible] is: "The Social Democrats who wanted the rockets [illegible] those who want to prevent it at all costs along the lines of [illegible].

[illegible] appears ready to abandon its rigid attitude toward [illegible] in its own ranks. The new chairman of the DGB (German

[illegible] Federation], Ernst Breit, is regarded as more open and willing to discuss the question than his predecessor, Heinz Oskar Vetter.

The postal workers are emerging as the spear point of the peace movement in the unions.

They are planning to make propaganda for the issuing of a peace stamp "as an important symbolic act of support for the will to peace" by collecting signatures. Currently the postal union is organizing peace weeks across the country under the title "For [illegible] Without Bombs."

The peace activists fear that the Union will, for its part, try to dispatch the [illegible] of arms increases through the courts. A CDU/CSU government could change the [illegible] to demonstrate and disqualify the "Krefeld Appeal" opposing the NATO double resolution as in violation of the constitution. Petra Kelly says: "They are going to turn us into criminals."

More than last year the German peace movement is relying on the solidarity of their fellow political comrades in Western Europe, with whom relations are being [illegible] more closely. "The peace movement," says Volkar Deile of "Aktion Suehnezeichen" [illegible], "is now drawing its strength from its internationalization."

In mid-September in Paris, Belgian, Dutch, English, French, American and German [illegible] and arms opponents together discussed the timetable for action for the [illegible] months.

Contacts with the peace movement in the United States were also strengthened. For [illegible] alone, German opponents of the rockets argue, the accusation of anti-[illegible]ism is absurd. Randy Kehler, one of the organizers of the mass movement "Freeze" in the United States, which is working toward the freezing of nuclear arms, says: "The struggle against stationing in Western Europe and against the manufacture of nuclear rockets in our country are mutally determinant."

When the 25 stationing sites in the FRG are blockaded at 11:55 am on 12 December, not only Dutch, Belgians and Italians, but also Americans plan to participate. In [illegible] 1983, Western Europeans are planning a demonstration outside the U.S. base [illegible] in Sicily, to which friends of peace from the United States will fly in. [illegible] on 22 October next year, arms opponents will take to the streets in [illegible] of Europe; at the same time, "Freeze" members in the United States will [illegible] against more nuclear rockets.

The new government in Bonn will find itself faced not only with an internationally [illegible] peace movement, it will also have to deal with forms of resistance that are [illegible] new for the FRG: the peace fighters are not willing to content themselves with [illegible] demonstrations any longer.

At a strategy discussion in Cologne the weekend before last, the Dutch suggested [illegible] military trains carrying armaments to make propaganda for their objectives. [illegible] Dutch really, the models are the American priests Daniel and Philip Berrigan, who [illegible] into the General Electric plant in King of Prussia, Pennsylvania, and destroyed [illegible] warheads with hammers.

The chairwoman of the Greens can point to SPD arms opponent Oskar Lafontaine as a precedent, who recently called for "the exploitation" of all legal "forms of civil disobedience."

Communities are also to be won over to the side of the antirocket campaign. However, there is only lukewarm enthusiasm in the municipalities. Unlike Norway, where 49 cities, Holland, where 85 cities and Great Britain, where 180 cities declared themselves prohibited zones for nuclear weapons, only 4 German cities have followed this example so far: Lindau, Tuebingen, Nuremberg and Kassel.

The peace activists are looking for a better response through enlightenment on site. Using local civil defense workers, helpers from the Red Cross or the Samaritan League, doctors, nurses, priests and teachers, the peace activists want to try to reach citizens circles. At their Cologne meeting they agreed to carry the peace movement into the CDU. According to their thesis, the aversion to nuclear armament is not at all limited to just leftwingers.

CDU defense expert Manfred Woerner, candidate for the top post on the Hardthoehe in Bonn, concedes this. Tensions within the Union are increasing, the closer the date of stationing approaches. Woerner says: "Fear of the new rockets does not stop before the CDU's gates."

While the peace movement is hoping to create so much political pressure that Bonn's new majority will adopt a more critical attitude than previously to the stationing of Pershing rockets and cruise missiles, Union politicians like Woerner consider the resistance as "survivable." As in 1957, during the "fight against nuclear death," he thinks the protest will peter out and the demonstrations will cease.

Members of the Christian Union would like to rid themselves of the unfavorable reputation as the party of rockets with statements in favor of peace and disarmament. Alois Mertes suggests that the party must present itself in a better light as the party of peace.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher, until now Minister of Foreign Affairs, has already smoothed the way for his new partners. All three key figures in the Bonn disarmament business are party friends of Helmut Kohl: disarmament delegate Friedrich Ruth, Bonn's representative at the negotiations in Vienna on troop reductions in Europe (MBFR), Ernst Jung, and Bonn's ambassador at the disarmament talks in Geneva, Henning Wegener, who until recently was Helmut Kohl's political advisor on foreign policy.

(JB)
CSO: 3620/1

HESSE SPD OFFICIAL FAVORS COALITION WITH GREENS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 1 Oct 82 p 7

/Report by ptn, datelined Wiesbaden, 30 September: "Goerlach Favors Coalition With Greens"/

/Text/ On 1 December the Hesse Greens will enter the provincial assembly with nine deputies. They expect the two other parliamentary parties, the SPD and the CDU, to "radically rethink" and change both the form and content of their policies. On Thursday last the Hesse Greens explained in Wiesbaden that they not only rejected "coalitions" with other parties but also all "negotiations" about cooperation. They were merely ready for "public talks" with other party representatives concerning the principles of Green policies. This might yield "support for specific points" of other parties on some issues. They stated categorically that "we will approve only those items that correspond to Green definitions."

They were not prepared to answer the question whether they were ready for some compromise regarding those topics they do not claim to be "vital issues" and therefore not negotiable. They described as "completely hypothetical," for instance, the question whether they could conceivably support the budget draft of acting Minister President Boerner if this draft were to include both "Green concerns" and others that might not be much to their liking but did not actually clash with their views. This question is in fact relevant, because some SPD politicians hope to be able in December to enact the 1983 budget with the help of the Greens.

Indeed SPD hopes go even farther. South Hesse district SPD chairman Goerlach said that his party was ready, together with the Greens, to "allow the installation" of a proper government in Hesse, provided the SPD were not confronted with "totally unacceptable conditions." From Goerlach's standpoint one of these conditions is the reafforestation of the western runway at Frankfurt Airport. Goerlach hopes that such controversial topics could simply be omitted from the discussions with the Greens. Last Thursday the Greens did not give any indication that such hopes are justified.

Similarly premature seems to be Boerner's announcement that he could "handle any situation" and obtain parliamentary consent for his budget draft. Frankfurt chief mayor and future Hesse CDU Land chairman Wallmann described as questionable whether Boerner--being merely acting minister president--was actually empowered to submit a budget. Wallmann claims that the Hesse Constitution incorporates an emergency

budget law, and this fact leads to the conclusion that an acting government may not submit a regular budget. Such a government is able to act to a limited extent only; it may do no more than that "which is urgently necessary at the present time." It is therefore unable to make investment decisions. In Wallmann's interpretation, an acting government may be considered no more than a temporary institution. He claims that the limitations on the powers and duration of such a government and its poor ability to claim the support of parliament arise from the fact that the provincial assembly does not even have the right to pronounce a no-confidence verdict on the head of government. From the aspect of these constitutional as well as political considerations, Wallmann presents the Hesse CDU's call for new elections by mid-1983.

The Young Socialists in Hesse consider last Sunday's election result an "opportunity (to arrive at) a new majority and a new policy." In Wiesbaden last Thursday they called on SPD and Greens "to get going the necessary but certainly protracted process of adjustment by way of sober talks about the issues." Such talks should not be obstructed by "personality clashes." The Young Socialists meant that, in the past, Boerner had repeatedly rejected any "sitting down with the Greens," and that the Greens for their part were unwilling to accept Boerner.

11598
CSO: 3620/6

GREENS REJECT UNION WITH EXTREME LEFTIST PARTIES

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 1 Oct 82 p 7

/Report by Tgn, datelined Hanover, 30 September: "Democratic Socialists Seek Partner"/

/Text/ The party of the Greens and groups of Alternatives seem disinclined to ally themselves with the socialist and communist left in the interest of combining the "left alternative opposition" in the FRG. Green leaders apparently reject any election pact in an early Bundestag election on the lines proposed by the "Initiative of Democratic Socialists" (DS) of Bundestag deputy Coppik who resigned from the SPD. On the other hand the Greens are quite prepared to enter the election campaign with an "open list" and thereby smooth the way to the Bonn Parliament for unaligned candidates of the left and protest movements.

This emerged clearly at a discussion on "prospects for a left alternative opposition." The "Hanover Democratic Socialists" had invited interested persons from various political camps to that discussion, including Ebermann, the spokesman of the GAL /Greens/Alternatives/ in the Hamburg assembly. Coppik, co-founder of the "Democratic Socialists," pleaded for joint action by Greens, Alternatives and left groups at least in the "main areas of conflict." "Conceptual loyalties" in the struggle against rearmament, destruction of the environment and social cuts must take precedence of organizational issues. Coppik emphasized that the coming elections must not be allowed to witness confrontations among the groups of the left opposition, because--having made this country "ungovernable"--CDU/CSU, FDP and SPD threatened these groups with even more discrimination and criminalization after the imminent change of government in Bonn.

Ebermann contradicted the assertion that a left alternative alliance could include the German Communist Party. However, he expected definite progress in favor of the desired changes in consciousness and society if an "open Green list" were to take shape.

As a member of both the Greens and GAL, Ebermann warned of the dangers of complacency among some of the "scene." Such complacency was evident after his party's election success in Hesse and assumed that "Hamburg situations" were bound to emerge in all parts of the Federal Republic. According to Ebermann, Greens and Alternatives could no longer afford to propound claims that sounded utopian without also offering concepts relevant to real conditions. They would have to endeavor to gain "political credibility" by acknowledging the "limitations" of their own ideas.

11698
CSO: 3620/6

SCHRECKENBERGER TO HEAD CHANCELLOR'S INTELLIGENCE

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 27 Sep 82 pp 29-30

/Text/ An unknown from Mainz is to become head of the chancellery and coordinator of West German intelligence services: Kohl's buddy from high school days in Ludwigshafen.

Helmut Kohl trudged ahead and held court; the rearguard, clad in hiking attire toiling to keep in step. On the last Wednesday of August, in oppressive Indian summer heat, on paths between Eusserthal and St Martin in the Palatine Woods, the Union leader promised his hangers-on the greatest of worldly delights: Palatine sow bellies and a pint of dry wine in a mill that very evening.

Looking forward pleasurably to the drinking spree ahead, some of the hikers fell to humming the Palatine battle hymn: "Theeeen the sausage gets slaughtered..." The leader of the thirsty horde was still preoccupied with more serious matters. At the foot of the Hermeskopf (mountain), Kohl sought out his old high school buddy and asked him a direct question: "Listen, are you still willing?"

Waldemar Schreckenberger, 52, justice minister in Rhineland-Palatinate, had expected the question, because Kohl had asked it once before, 6 years ago. His answer was in the affirmative. Kohl smiled broadly on hearing the only proviso--approval by Schreckenberger's current master, Mainz Minister President Bernhard Vogel--and promised "to call him."

It thus happened that, immediately after the breakdown of the social-liberal coalition in Bonn, Waldemar Schreckenberger listed the names of new department managers and senior officials on the organizational charts of the chancellery but was unavailable in Mainz for days on end. Kohl's buddy had "surprisingly" sent in an "excuse for his absence, due to illness" at the weekly cabinet meeting, said his staff to mislead those not in the know.

In fact Schreckenberger was busy in Bonn preparing for his new office as state secretary at the chancellery. He drafted Kohl's statements and, last Wednesday, met in secret with election campaigner Genscher in Hesse to submit to him the set pieces of the new government program. The quiet man from Mainz exulted: "I am now involved in everything. In future I will be in Lahnstein's position."

If Kohl manages to get his choice confirmed, Schreckenberger, totally unfamiliar with Bonn, will be coordinator of coalition policies and all German intelligence services, a role even CDU politicians do not think him capable of handling. Still, former Mainz Minister President Kohl desires to achieve the comeback of an old senior partnership from the happy days of the Rhineland-Palatinate Land chancellery: His friend Waldemar and Kohl's secretary Juliana Weber are to provide a repeat performance of the golden 1970's in golden Mainz.

A schoolboy friendship in Ludwigshafen postwar days links Kohl and Schreckenberger. Kohl, the Catholic from the BASF workers district Friedensheim, always admired the cool and thoughtful Protestant who was a grade ahead of him in high school. Schreckenberger, son of a port director, coached 20 students in Kohl's grade in French, Latin and maths, and was "respected as an intellectual" by the more robust school mate. Kohl, on the other hand, impressed the bookworm as a "leader of youth groups" and a go-getter.

In Heidelberg Schreckenberger was already several semesters into the study of law when student Kohl began to push himself forward in the Young Union while failing in his law studies. Kohl finally managed to graduate as a history major, writing his fairly banal thesis on "The Political Developments in the Palatinate and the Resurgence of Parties After 1945." Schreckenberger supplied a far more challenging thesis on "Legality and Ethics: A Jurisprudential-Philosophical Study on the Concept of Law in Kant."

Ever since the provincial politician enviously looked over the shoulder of honors graduate Schreckenberger who was Werner Maihofer's aide in Saarbruecken in 1959/1960. A civil servant in Mainz since 1960, Schreckenberger drafted "the bulk of educational legislation" while in the Ministry for Culture, predominantly conservative articles. In 1969 he was appointed head of the chancellery department for "legislation and administration."

When, in the 1970's, Kohl's buddy wrote his doctoral thesis on "basic rhetorical structures of the reasonings behind the verdicts of the Federal Constitutional Court," his superior was "generous in allowing him time off." The future professor was "under the impression" that his appointment to academe "was realizing some part of Kohl's own youthful dreams."

Law philosopher Schreckenberg directed Kohl's administrative reforms and, in 1976, coordinated the Laender votes at the time the treaties with Poland were enacted. He was so skillful in forwarding plans for private radio and cable television projects at federal level that the Protestant Press Service described him as "the most powerful man in German broadcasting." Schreckenberger himself boasted that "German media politics would have a quite different aspect if it had not been for me."

However, Kohl's "closest adviser in matters of fact" (his own appraisal) avoided publicity until rising to become head of the state chancellery in the administration of Bernhard Vogel, the successor to the Union leader in Mainz. Schreckenberger himself claims that, in the 5 years of his holding that office, the Vogel chancellery "had turned into the most efficient Land chancellery of the Republic."

And yet the legislative technocrat was still barely known to the public when he was appointed minister for justice in Mainz a little over a year ago. His efforts to gain federation-wide recognition as a lawyer-politican were confined to the increased output of colorless press releases.

In the meantime Kohl's buddy was ready at any time once again to serve the troop leader of earlier days in the Palatinate. Schreckenberger's slogan for Bonn is completely in tune with Kohl's tastes: "Work hard and live well."

Possibly, so Kohl's friend thinks, the Bonn adventure "might be over in half a year." In that case he intends to be "an academic only."

11698
CSO: 3620/3

CSU STRATEGISTS SEEK SUPPORT IN SPD-DOMINATED RUHR

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 27 Sep 82 pp 31, 33

/Text/ After the collapse in Bonn, the CDU attempts to storm SPD strongholds on the Ruhr.

The Blacks of the CDU have always been rather inventive in their attempts to gain a foothold in the Red quarter.

Post Office Department President Bernhard Worms (ret) traveled to the country of soot /play on words--in German "soot" is "russ"--translator's note/ last summer in a white four-wheel drive vehicle. He discovered the locals to have the "mentality of the Popular Association for a Catholic Germany" and, bellying up to various bars, praised the might of Schalke 04 /local soccer club/.

The party chief from the Rhineland reproved CDU officials who frankly admit "their reluctance to enter the Gelsenkirchen soccer field." He described them as really damaging the party image, "and certainly as at least foolish." Worms himself firmly intends to create "the identification with this performance society by the example of Schalke 04."

Party associate Prof Kurt H. Biedenkopf had a linguistic briefing paper drawn up for the Ruhr. Sentences were to be brief and to the point, "words should not exceed two syllables."

Whenever CDU strategists from the Rhine discover the Ruhr Region, matters soon take on a farcical aspect. "The major political figure from the outside aiming to spur on the election campaign," says a CDU directive, "should do more than (figuratively) put on his helmet, he should also, and in full public view, get himself dirty."

Native Blacks look on in total dismay. Dorsten Bundestag Deputy Agnes Huerland complains that "over and over again" leaders come in to advise us "how to turn the enemy flank in the Ruhr."

Until next Saturday the CDU will once again be assaulting the Ruhr--and never before have so many party leaders attended the "CDU Ruhr Days." According to a strategy paper, senior CDU leaders are to beat the drums for the party at more than 200 organized raillies in factories, on market places and in halls, introduce themselves "as the great, vital and optimistic popular party" and reduce "fears of contacts" (Worms).

Powerful CDU district federations are to act as godparents for the troops on the Ruhr--such solidarity has hitherto been known only among the DKP here and the SED there.

The time for a change appears to be ripe even here. Helmut Kohl glimpses "a lasting loss of confidence in the SPD in the Ruhr Region," Worms aims to gain at least 5 percent in the next.../end of sentence missing; beginning of sentence on next page missing--translator's note/. While the powerful SPD leaders live on the spot, the Black leaders such as Worms, while intending "to make the name of the party a byword in every corner of the region" do not wish to live among the soot.

Worms who hatched the nice idea of the new campaign, resides in Pulheim near Cologne. He does think it a pity that his colleague Biedenkopf, boss of Westphalia, does not live in Dortmund or Witten but in fashionable Dusseldorf-Oberkassel. Guilelessly Worms asks, "how is he going to have a beer with them of an evening and really get to know the local atmosphere?"

Party insiders consider the Ruhr campaign mainly as a jockeying for position between rivals Worms and Biedenkopf, both intent on dominating the CDU in North Rhine-Westphalia.

Worms, a Kohl protege, acts modestly between Emscher and Lippe. "I have come to listen." When he does speak, he tells of calling to national goalkeeper Toni Schumacher at the soccer world championships: "God regards you in quite a different light."

Biedenkopf always worries in his province when something is on the move in Bonn. He tells the Ruhr CDU that it simply must be successful because the little man in the coal pit is now so well off. CDU trade unionists vociferate that "no election can possibly be won in the Ruhr while that man is around."

The current efforts of the Union are very likely to lack a happy ending. In fact the SPD is making strong gains in the region since the breakdown of the coalition in Bonn: In only 1 week the SPD recorded 700 new party members.

Graffiti are turning up on the walls of houses in Gelsenkirchen and Muelheim: "The SPD Lives."

11698
CSO: 3620/2

POLL SHOWS RECORD SUPPORT FOR SOCIALISTS, CONSERVATIVES

CP Front Lost Ground

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 22 Sep 82 p 4

[Article: "Poll: SDP and Conservative Party Support High"]

[Text] Support for the Social Democrats and the Conservatives is at this time perceptibly greater than it was in the 1979 parliamentary elections according to an opinion poll conducted by the M-Data Center. The SKDL [Finnish People's Democratic League] and the small bourgeois parties have lost support.

In the poll conducted in August--September 29.2 percent of the respondents declared that they would vote for a candidate of the SDP [Social Democratic Party] if the elections were to be held at the time of the poll. The SDP received 23.9 percent of the votes in the 1979 parleamentary elections, which means that the party's support has increased by 5.3 percentage points in comparison with those elections. In last winter's electoral elections the SDP received 43.3 percent of the votes. A full 14 percentage points have fallen off since the impressive share of the votes brought in by Mauno Koivisto.

The M-Data Center now found that 25.5 percent of those polled would give their support to the Conservatives. In the last parliamentary elections the Conservative Party received 21.7 percent of the votes so that its support has increased by 3.8 percentage points. In the electoral elections Conservative Party support was 18.7 percent.

The M-Data Center poll was requested by the Conservative Party. The M-Data Center interviewed a total of 1,365 people from 27 August to 19 September. They were asked which party's candidates they would vote for if the parliamentary elections were to be held now.

The support figures for the parties are on the basis of the poll in percentages as follows (the change in percentage points since the 1979 parliamentary elections is in parentheses): Conservative Party 25.5 (+3.8), Center Party 18.0 (+0.7), LKP [Liberal People's Party] 1.6 (-2.1), RKP [Swedish People's Party] 3.8 (-0.4), SMP [Finnish Rural Party] 2.5 (-2.1), SKL [Finnish Christian League] 3.4 (-1.4), SKYP [Finnish People's Unification Party] 0.2 (-0.1), POP [Constitutional Rightwing Party] 0.2 (-0.1), SDP 29.2 (+5.3), and SKDL 15.6 (-2.3).

On the basis of this poll support for the leftwing is now 2.9 percentage points greater than in the 1979 elections. The poll indicated that total support for leftwing parties is 44.8 percent and 55.2 percent for the non-socialist parties.

The parliamentary elections will be held next March.

Paper Comments on Poll

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 24 Sep 82 p 2

[Editorial: "A Strong Sampling on Direction of Party Support"]

[Text] Political opinion polls in Finland, as well as in other Western countries, have increased perceptibly. The background for this is above all a realization of the increase in the people's desire for political knowledge. This increase in interest should, on the other hand, portend greater participation and a more extensive accomplishment of the democratic process.

By chance we have now received information from two successive opinion polls on political support for the various parties conducted in August--September. They indicate that there continues to be an increase, brought about by the presidential elections, in the support figures for the SDP, which is the largest party. The Conservative Party, for its part, has succeeded in keeping its support 3--4 percentage points higher than in the last parliamentary elections by means of being in opposition.

The Center Party seems to have restored its positions even better than it has ever done in the last decade. These positions may yet be further strengthened by the Liberals, whose supporters seem to be dispersing to nearly all the parties, mostly to the Conservative Party in addition to the Center Party, as a result of the merger process. The position of the RKP is rather constant in the poll while, on the other hand, the other small parties have lost support with perhaps the exception of the Christian League.

The results of both the polls are just as depressing for the Communists and the People's Democrats. They indicate at least a 2-percentage point drop in votes compared with the last parliamentary elections. This is a relatively large drop since the 1979 elections already meant a loss of five MP positions for them.

The loss of support by the SKDL/SKP [Finnish People's Democratic League/Finnish Communist Party] has definitely turned out to be beneficial for the Social Democrats. The attempt to stem the flow of votes away from these parties has prompted the Communists to sweep their internal conflict under the rug for the duration of the elections and even to seek a "political intervention" tactic for bringing back votes.

The results of opinion polls are always of significance and, as was seen in connection with the recent elections in Sweden, they can turn out to be quite correct. Nevertheless, the results of polls are still no prediction of what

will happen in the elections. They reflect people's concepts, expectations, and opinions at the time of the poll and the wording of the question also affects the results.

As the parliamentary elections approach the political activism of citizens has increased because of the increased activity in the election campaign. This also influences voting behavior and the situation can still change. Therefore, it is a waste of time to dwell on the percentages of either poll. They only indicate the direction of development in party support so far.

10576
CSO: 3617/4

KOIVISTO-ERA PARTIES EVINCING EVER GREATER WILL TO COOPERATE

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 11 Sep 82 p 14

/Article by Ingavr Oja: "Budget Proposal Painlessly Accepted; Peace on the Surface in Finland"/

/Text/ Helsinki, Sep--The Finnish government has just presented its budget proposal for next year, and the parties which make up the government are praising each other because everything happened so painlessly. Not even the communists were particularly agitated despite the fact that the budget is a belt-tightening one, which does not leave much room for the negotiation partners in the labor market.

Everything seems so peaceful on the domestic political front in Finland that one sometimes wonders if any parties exist at all.

Since Mauno Koivisto was elected president 6 months ago, the profiles of the parties have become so low and so dull that an observer begins to wonder whether all the parties have not been issued central directives not to make any statements which could lead to damaging confrontations before the general elections in March next year.

But appearances are deceptive.

Behind the calm facade is a political life which with its paradoxes seems almost incomprehensive to the other Scandinavians, who are used to thinking along strict bloc lines. Finland's political structure with its oftentimes surprising coalitions is just as difficult to grasp as is the country's language.

These are some of the many paradoxes:

In relation to the population Finland has the third largest communist party in Europe. This party has long occupied ministerial positions in leftist-dominated governments. But despite that--a phenomenon which in any other country would have been interpreted as a strong radical current in the electorate--a Helsinki journalist, speaking of the political inclinations of the Finnish people, exclaims:

"But it is so damned conservative!"

On the other political flank is the Coalition Party, a conservative party which in the last 15 years has nearly doubled its representation in Parliament and now constitutes the next largest party. Despite these tangible successes, however, the party has been in some kind of political quarantine since the 1960's, having had the role of constant opposition party forced upon it.

In addition to the Communists and the Coalition Party another six parties are represented in Parliament, parties which represent everything from strict orthodox Stalinism, which wants to bring about a world revolution that will make everyone brothers, to chauvinistic conservatism, which seems to believe that a Greater Finnish rapprochement is a large enough goal.

But despite the leftist dominance in the government, the socialist bloc in Parliament is traditionally in the minority, and there are now 113 non-socialists as against 87 socialists. The Social Democrats form the largest party with 52 mandates and the Communists have 30 mandates of the 35 seats held by the People's Democratic League (for historical reasons the Communists belong to an election league which also includes other leftist socialists from the border region between Communists and Social Democrats).

The fact that the communists participate in the government is not a concession to Soviet pressure but a traditional Finnish method of seeking solutions, which resembles a popular front, to the government question. The communists represent a considerable opinion within the electorate, and the majority of them have accepted the parliamentary game.

'No Satellite'

"We are a national party and no satellite of the Soviet party," states former party chairman Aarne Saarinen, who has made headlines since last spring because of his statements which are often critical of the Soviet Union. Saarinen also says that Finland lacks the preconditions for a revolution, and that it is only anti-Soviet propaganda to assert that the communists want to reshape Finland according to the Soviet model.

But not only leftist parties make up the government. It is a common phenomenon in Finnish politics--in contrast to the rest of the Nordic countries--to seek compromise across the borders of the political blocs. In the present government headed by Social Democrat Kalevi Sorsa, the Center Party and the Swedish People's Party are also represented.

Only cooperation across bloc lines--above all the "punamultayhteistyo" (the red-green cooperation) between the Center Party and the Social Democrats--dates back to the period before the war and was transformed into a "royal idea" to former Prime Minister Urho Kekkonen.

The reason for this Finnish method of having governments based on cooperation across the bloc lines is not only the desire for national unity, however, but is due perhaps equally to the stipulations of the constitution.

One-third of Parliament can demand that a proposed bill must rest until after consultations, which in practice means that the bill may never become law.

This means that a government founded only on support by one or the other bloc --even if it has a simple majority--does not have much chance of implementing its policies.

Voter Apathy

Minister of Justice Christoffer Taxell of the Swedish People's Party finds this system highly unsatisfactory.

"It is a strength in Finnish politics that in working to form governments it is possible to cross the bloc line, but at the same time overly broad solutions, necessitated by the wording of the constitution, can lead to a lack of alternatives and voter apathy," Taxell says and adds somewhat bitingly:

"Soon it will not matter where the voters put their votes; the government receives support on both sides of the bloc line anyway."

In order to remedy this "lack of alternatives" Taxell will initiate a parliamentary study to review the regulations of the constitution, and the same study will also review the presidential election system. Taxell has already tested the opinion by suggesting that the presidential election system should be changed, but his proposal met with compact resistance from the various parties. As it stands now, it will take some time before "the minority protection" is abolished in Parliament.

There is obvious aversion in Finnish politics to strict bloc thinking, yes even fear, and many politicians regard the development in Sweden as close to a deterrent example.

Some time ago the Center Party newspaper KESKISUOMALAINEN, in a debate about the possibility of an exclusively non-socialist government, wrote:

Split into Two Parts

"A purely non-socialist government would become the starting shot for a split of our society into two parts and in the long run would lead to the configuration of socialists against non-socialists."

On the contrary, the Finnish political debate of today is discussing a yet broader solution to the government question after next year's election, which according to the prognoses will not bring any major upheavals regarding the relationships of strength of the parties in Parliament. It is not considered impossible that the Coalition Party will form a coalition with the Social Democrats, which would lead to the Communists pulling out of the government coalition. But not even Saarinen finds it totally impossible to remain in a government together with the Coalition Party.

"A coalition between the Coalition Party and the Social Democrats is quite natural since they are not very far apart ideologically," Taxell says and points out that both seek their support in middle-class urban districts.

The Finnish politicians are perhaps looking for broad solutions in the knowledge that schisms and division tendencies are also a traditional Finnish phenomenon. Parties have become divided, trade unions have become divided, and the politician who breaks away from a collective because his opinion of the party-political choice of course differs from that of the party leadership, is also not unusual.

This desire for broad solutions can also be traced back to the many rifts created by history. The Finnish people is extremely conscious of history, and although the wounds from the years of the civil war more than a generation ago are healed, the scars still remain.

The scars from the language conflict remain, the scars and perhaps the shame from the time of the Lappo Movement remain and the memories of the note crisis in 1961, which had the result that a presidential candidate with a chance of winning against incumbent President Urho Kekkonen had to withdraw his candidacy due to the circumstances, remain.

11940
CSO: 3109/237

SWEDISH REPORTER FINDS MORE OPEN FOREIGN-POLICY DEBATE

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 14 Sep 82 p 20

/Article by Ingvar Oja: "Climate of Debate Increasingly Open; Kekkonen's Shadow Fading"/

/Text/ Helsinki, Sep--Urho Kekkonen, the president who has been regarded as the guarantor of the stable and friendly relations with the Soviet Union, had left his post after a quarter-century. A new head of state, Mauno Koivisto, toward whom the Soviet Union had felt a certain amount of suspicion and who had not concealed his desire to become a less dominating figure in political life, had taken office.

At that very moment a political scientist and professor appeared, who questioned the very fundament of Finnish foreign policy: the friendship and assistance pact with the Soviet Union. The professor's statements are making an echo, not so much in Finland as abroad, where the change of presidents and the entry into "the third republic" was viewed as the beginning of a new era both in domestic and foreign policy.

The professor's statements were regarded abroad as a clear indication that Finland was now ready to reevaluate its relations with the Soviet Union, while at home the statement was received more as a purely academic brainstorm. The new President Koivisto did not in any way try to limit the debate but repeated without much perturbation that the Finnish course in foreign policy, based on the so-called Paasikivi-Kekkonen line, remains firm.

And the Finnish peole also does not seem to have become overly excited. It is a realistic people, which through its historic experiences has come to understand that the pact with the Soviet Union is a bitter necessity in order for the country to continue to live as a free nation; no nation can escape its geographical reality. Finland has turned necessity into a virtue.

"It is no longer an empty phrase that the pact is a cornerstone of Finnish politics," Minister of Justice Christoffer Taxell, a non-socialist politician from the Swedish People's Party, says. There is no reason to discard a pact which has functioned well since 1948.

"An overwhelming majority of the Finnish people supports the pact and the politics it has brought about," Taxell says and stresses that it should not be forgotten that the pact not only has a political content but an economic one as well, something which has benefited Finland.

What is interesting about the professor's statement regarding the pact is the reaction from the president's office. The obvious change in attitude toward a sensitive foreign-political debate shows that something has nevertheless happened since Kekkonen stepped down as president. A statement such as that of the Turku professor would have been impossible during Kekkonen's time of total conformism in foreign-political debate. And if, contrary to expectation, such a statement would have appeared, a good dressing-down by the president's office would have prevented further discussion of the subject.

"The atmosphere for political debate has changed," says Ilka-Christian Bjorklund, a member of Parliament from the People's Democratic League, who are members of the Committee of Foreign Affairs. "We are finally rid of the guardianship and can begin to assume responsibility on our own."

The same relief is felt in other areas of Finnish society. This is not to say that the country was governed by a dictator, but during the latter part of his presidency Kekkonen became an institution, from which all decisions were initiated. And if no initiatives were forthcoming from Ekudden, where Kekkonen lived--and still lives--the decision-makers sensitively tried to interpret the president's previous statements in order to arrive at the least irritating decision--to the head of state. Debate on certain issues was silenced when the president's office referred to relations with the big neighbor.

In Finland foreign policy and domestic policy have always been intimately interwoven because of relations with the Soviet Union. Due to the fact that Kekkonen and his office represented the president as the sole interpreter of the wishes of the Soviet Union and the only arbiter who could determine the degree of sensitivity of an issue to the Soviet Union, it is natural that the president's power became extensive. His office assumed increasingly more of this power toward the end of Kekkonen's time as president and often acted "with carte blanche" (as Bjorklund expresses it), which led to an uncontrolled bureaucracy; in the end the bureaucrats resembled an impenetrable wall around the aging president.

On foreign policy issues the influence of the president's office on the domestic press was suffocating. As early as 1958, after a trip to the Soviet Union, Kekkonen issued a warning to the press and then emphasized that the press must show "restraint and responsibility" in order not to damage relations with the powerful neighbor. Many are of the opinion, however, that public debate often was quite timid on domestic policy issues as well.

"There was no censure, but the debate died out because everyone knew that it was quite meaningless. It did not lead to anything, since the decisions were made at Ekudden anyway," a journalist says.

He, like many others in the mass media, regards the transformation after the change of presidents with satisfaction. But the initial frenzy has already

abated and a certain amount of dissatisfaction in the press over the actions of the new president can already be heard. Many journalists believe that Koivisto isolates himself too much and has already made himself inaccessible to the mass media.

During Kekkonen's time public opinion was not able to influence the decisions by the president's office, but it was the office and its view of the political realities which formed the opinion. Now it is hoped that the president's office will not merely become a government agency issuing orders but will also allow a dialog and will itself participate in this dialog.

"Such a development has already been initiated, and it is not because the new President Koivisto is weak but because he deliberately keeps a low profile," Bjorklund says.

The critics of the Kekkonen era also hope that the politicizing of the presidential office will cease or become less conspicuous than under Kekkonen. He was deeply engaged in party politics before he became president and this involvement never ceased. Kekkonen's party, the present Center Party, dominated more than its voter base provided any reason for, and at the Foreign Ministry--which is something of a key department in Finnish politics--the Center Party was and is still heavily overrepresented through political appointments.

Koivisto's career, among other things, shows that he will not become equally intensely involved with party politics. He is a Social Democrat, to be sure, and has headed many Social Democratic governments, but his path toward the presidency is still that of the public official and the well-liked popular leader.

"He is truly the president of all the people, and he has assumed the role quite well," Taxell says.

Bitter Pill

Koivisto apparently wants to have a very smooth transfer of power without any damaging party conflicts, and in that spirit he has retained Kekkonen's chief of staff, who was appointed on political merits. There also have not been any "purges" at the Foreign Ministry, but it is probable that a more even party-political structure will soon evolve even in this department. According to observers, the Center Party will soon swallow the bitter pill and acknowledge that it is no longer a "government-supporting" institution, just as the Social Democrats will soon realize that the "Koivisto scale" does not guarantee a comfortable victory in the next parliamentary election.

Many opportunists who were elevated to the sanctuaries of power during Kekkonen are likely to see their influence diminish. Many of them are now in the foremost ranks of those who are criticizing Kekkonen and his presidency.

"The debate about the presidential institution is somewhat distorted; Kekkonen was not nearly as bad as is sometimes alleged today, and even if Koivisto is good and popular he is not as fantastically good as the propaganda now maintains," says a long-time observer of the Finnish political scene.

Statesman

And one can certainly agree with him. Kekkonen was no dictator but a popularly elected president who merely utilized his constitutional rights to the fullest. According to many, Kekkonen was the only true statesman the Nordic countries have ever had, and when such a personality disappears a vacuum is created and the criticism often goes too far.

Finland has entered a period of "de-Kekkonization," but once the political machinery has gradually stopped shaking after the earthquake which the election of Koivisto represented, it will be possible to summarize Kekkonen's contributions to Finland. Then it will be discovered that Kekkonen's perhaps most important accomplishment is that he has created a broad, joint sense of value in a society which had been injured by many disruptive internal conflicts.

11049
CSO: 3109/237

PAPER EXAMINES SCHOLARS' FOREIGN POLICY CRITIQUES

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 14 Sep 82 p 2

[Editorial by Jan-Magnus Jansson: "A New-Old Discussion"]

[Text] Realism must remain the bedrock on which our foreign policy is based, but it can be combined with practical work to improve the international system, writes Jan-Magnus Jansson in a commentary on a couple of statements of opinion regarding a topical subject.

Two of the Left's pace setters in foreign policy--Prof Osmo Apunen of the Social Democratic Party and Jorma Hentila, secretary general of the DFFF [Finnish People's Democratic League]--have started talking at almost the same time about our foreign policy. Their comments differ in detail but share a common core. They both criticize the emphasis that is placed on "national interest" in our foreign policy and, in general, the attempts to find a safe path between the big power blocs that have characterized our diplomacy in recent decades. What they want instead is for our foreign policy to be established more firmly on ethical values, with room being made for political commitments on issues on which we have thus far usually avoided taking a stand.

Prof Osmo Apunen (see our "Today's Discussion" column for 11 September) bases his remarks on the development toward a freer political climate that is considered to have occurred since Kekkonen's replacement by Koivisto as head of state. He acknowledges the past president's achievement, but emphasizes that in any event, "the grinding out of letters, public reprimands and, in the worst of cases, existence as a nonperson in society" during Kekkonen's time saw to it that people did not discuss foreign policy just for the pleasure of discussion. Now the new atmosphere ought to allow the citizens to feel that they can accept the foundations underlying political decisions. Apunen says that foreign policy should also rest on the consent of the citizens rather than on authority.

Concerning the content of policy, Apunen wants foreign policy decisions to be based on "general subjective attitudes" and ethical considerations to a greater extent than has been the case so far. The "fanatical realists" headed by Max Jacobsson should be gotten rid of as soon as possible. It can be noted here in passing that Jacobsson's latest book, which came out just before the presidential election, was judged in some quarters to be insufficiently orthodox from the standpoint of the accepted foreign policy line.

Jorma Hentila cultivates the same main theme--that is, he also calls for bolder stands and greater attention to ethical viewpoints. In particular, however, he criticizes the formalism and lack of initiative in today's situation which he says characterize our foreign policy. The fundamental error, in his opinion, is that we have so tied our foreign policy activity to developments in relations between the big powers that in a difficult situation between them, we do not want to take any new initiatives.

The notes being struck here are not entirely new. On the contrary, some of them remind one surprisingly of the discussion concerning the so-called new foreign policy that was carried on at the end of the 1960's by young Social Democrats. And later, during Kekkonen's time, the alleged selfishness and lack of ethics in our foreign policy were often brought up. What is new is Apunen's reference to the climate in the Koivisto era, while Hentila is so critical that one wonders exactly who his target is. His comments lack the optimism expressed by Social Democrat Apunen.

In order to form an opinion, it is necessary to go back to the sources of the present foreign policy line. The "realism" which has determined that line for nearly 40 years originated in the criticism after 1944 of our prewar foreign policy. It was said, sometimes perhaps in an oversimplified way, that we had indulged in illusions about the rights of small states and the principles of the League of Nations--all of which blew away like sticks in a storm during World War II. "Recognition of the facts is the beginning of wisdom" was what it said in the well-known elementary text that Paasikivi presented to his people when the reeducation began in 1944. What facts? Well, the difference between big and little and between victor and vanquished, and above all the awareness that our neighbor the Soviet Union is a major power on which we are dependent.

Paasikivi's terse formula concerning policy in one's own interest by no means covers all realities in our current relations with the Soviet Union, Those relations have not only been normalized but have also developed to a high degree in many areas. It is nevertheless proper not to lose sight of the dimension of power politics in our relationship with our big-power neighbor. Otherwise it becomes easy to start building illusions of one kind or another.

One consequence of our special relationship with the Soviet Union is that we have not considered ourselves capable of taking a stand against that country in [illegible] situations, regardless of public opinion and regardless of where our sympathies might lie. This was made most clear when Finland abstained from the UN votes on Hungary and Afghanistan. But it should be admitted that Professor [illegible] has been consistent, since in the somewhat confused discussion of the Afghan crisis, he represented the view that we could have voted for the UN resolution. He was just about alone in holding that view.

The importance of making some allowance for the Soviet Union's interests has also led our country to show a degree of restraint in connection with the interests of the other big power (or big power bloc). For example, it will be recalled that our visible reactions on the Vietnam issue were far less vigorous than those of our Scandinavian neighbors. The preamble to the Friendship,

Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Pact, with its statement about our aspiration to remain outside conflicts of interest between the big powers, and the requirement that our policy of neutrality be credible have quite simply obliged us to adopt such a posture.

A bedrock of realism and consideration for Finland's fundamental national interests is therefore still needed. But in saying that, one can also admit that we have sometimes carried that principle to unnecessary lengths by emphasizing a desolate Hegelianism that can be traced back to Snellman himself or by downplaying any motives for our conduct other than those of cold political interest. Obviously, we ought to operate on the premise that the international system can be developed and improved while peace is being preserved. Practical work toward that goal has been a part of Finland's foreign policy for two decades and will certainly continue to be. And as far as new initiatives are concerned, the obstacle is probably not so much the world political situation as it is a certain lack of ideas. That is by no means typical only of our country.

Professor Apunen's demand that policy be rooted in public opinion is fully justified when it applies to the general policy line. But it cannot mean that in every individual situation, official foreign policy positions must conform to the wishes of public opinion, which in practice means the wishes of foreign policy activists. There must be situations in which the citizens and the press take one view while government representatives choose another path. Such a division is part of the way in which our social system operates.

11798
CSO: 3650/1

NEW CP VICE-CHAIRMAN ALHO PROJECTING MODERATE IMAGE

Helsinki SUOMEN KUVALEHTI in Finnish 3 Sep 82 pp 36-38

[Article by Leena Hayrinen: "Veikko Alho Shapes CP Unity: Not Too Loose, Not Too Tight"]

[Text] Moderation in coffee, tobacco, and Koskenkorva [vodka] is the rule of life for the new vice-chairman of the SKP [Finnish Communist Party]. The conciliatory and moderate workers' politician is faced with a difficult challenge. His weapons are a faith in socialism and in the decisions of the party congress and the point of view of the worker with respect to ideological questions as a force.

"I will show you some of these measuring instruments," states Veikko Alho and pulls out a drawer.

It contains tools which a lathe operator uses to confirm the dimensions of a piece of metal with the accuracy of one-hundredth of a millimeter. One must know how to use these tools; the measuring instrument must be situated on the piece of metal precisely and not approximately, not too loose, but not too tight:

"One must have that feeling in one's hands," states Veikko Alho. I asked him what the piece of metal in the lathe will become.

"A fly wheel for a cleaning machine in a purification plant in a foundry," answered Alho.

And adds: "I just gave the same answer to an editor of ILTALEHTI."

In the last couple weeks people have noticed that there is a celebrity at the Kymi Plant in Karkkila. The manager now routinely grants permission for photo sessions at the plant, waiters in the plant restaurant call a meeting with Veikko Alho a "press conference".

Alho himself, the new vice-chairman of the SKP, is somewhat embarrassed by all the hullabaloo.

"Since I am not accustomed to it," he says.

There is concern that we may perhaps be disturbing him in the middle of his workday.

"No," he interjects, "there is nothing that has to be done now."

Peacefully, interestedly, and thoroughly he explains his own work at the lathe in the repair shop of the plant where he makes spare parts for foundry machinery and equipment. Next year will mark a full 40 years since he began work as a 13-year old boy in the same plant, first as a messenger boy and then as a lathe operator after attending the machine shop school for 4 years at the Hogfors Plant.

In Karkkila Even The Church Is Red

"I have come to know what work is all about," he states.

It is almost four o'clock.

"Wait for me over other in Rautaruukki's office," he states. "I will wash up and change clothes and then join you there."

We walked through the plant area and grounds, which Veikko Alho showed to us. Through it flows a rushing river, next to which an old blast furnace rose to refine Rautamaki ore. Around it grew the town of Karkkila, to which Pyhajarvi, Veikko Alho's birthplace, was joined in 1969.

This year Karkkila will celebrate its 50th anniversary. It is a well-known red community, whose church is even painted red and whose city council has for 10 years already been directed by a communist, lathe operator Veikko Alho, 52, long-time member of the SKP Central Committee, and now vice-chairman of the SKP.

A sincere kind of love for his home district can be heard from Veikko Alho's speech when he praises Karkkila's nature, good tranportation connections, and opportunities for recreation. But the local politician also knows another side: a reduction in employment, the problems of living with one large employer, limited opportunities in the district in the face of unemployment even in a leftwing majority city.

"Somebody other than the leftwing parties is deciding where industry will be located," he states.

He orders tea.

"Are not the doctors now saying that the worst enemies of the stomach are coffee, tobacco, and Koskenkorva [vodka]," he says jokingly.

The party's vice-chairmanship increases the number of meetings at which coffee and cigarettes are ever present. Veikko Alho is attempting to use them moderately -- but, nevertheless, uses them and sometimes this includes vodka, and why not.

Perhaps moderation is his most penetrating characteristic. When his election was made public, he was described as being conciliatory and moderate regardless of the fact that he is a member of the minority.

I Would Not Lie: 26.90 Markkas An Hour

ideology is a legacy from home, "the working class movement's world of ideas" the only alternative:

"My father was already a person of the working class, a Red Guard, and was given a prison sentence for this. I have personally experienced what the life of an average worker is all about: long workdays in front of the same machine, heavy work, noise, low wages, and economic difficulties..."

The vice-chairman talks about his own wages, even verifies it from the time card so that he would not be lying: it is 26.90 markkas an hour.

"Thus I have wanted to improve these conditions in the life of the average worker. In my opinion the best way to influence these matters has been the SKP."

Varied activities at the job site, in local politics, and at various levels of the party from the primary organization through the city and district committees to the Central Committee have made up his training and education. He has acquired his knowledge in practical work and through self-reading, and not in the party school. He himself does not at all consider it peculiar that he as a lathe operator is leading the party together with doctors and scholars -- this should be normal at least in the SKP, he states:

"Among the membership of the SKP there has always been the forceful opinion that the workers' voice should be heard in the party leadership. The difficulty in this is that workers must, indeed, spend their days on the job."

He talks respectfully about Jouko Kajanoja's high degree of erudition in questions of theory and ideology. If the experience of workers is placed along side these theories, the result will, if there is success, be a fruitful cooperation.

A United Front Must Be Found

Even otherwise he talks willingly about cooperation.

On the other hand, he would prefer not to talk at all about the party's disputes and dissension:

"It is not a time for accusations. Now a united effort should be made on behalf of the decisions of the SKP congress," he states.

I tried to get him to say what this well-known party division has meant at the job site and at the level of individual rank-and-file Communists, at what level has it been a question.

Veikko Alho states that in Karkkila at his place of employment, in particular, there has never been a dispute in connection with shop steward elections, for example.

"But... I would much rather talk about unity than these conflicts... but somewhere it has been determined that there are ideological-politcal differences in the party and differing views causing dissension in practical policies, in particular.

"An attempt was made to isolate the SKP and the Communists until the 1960's, but then there came an effort on the part of other parties to make the Communists conform to the present social system and prevailing conditions. Views supporting a reformist policy began to appear even in the party.

"But a certain segment of the party continued to respect those principles on which the party is based. In all its actions the party depends on Marxist-Leninist scientific socialism and, of course, on the internationalism and mutual solidarity of workers and Communists."

[Question] At that time, in the 1960's, there was an initiative to attract new types of members, students and artists? How did this feel?

[Answer] This was, of course, satisfactory from the point of view of membership growth in the SKP.

[Question] Are you still satisfied with these groups?

[Answer] Now that it is a question of SKP members and of these attempts to restore unity, I will not proceed to criticize my own party's members or make accusations as I have already stated. We must now truly find a united front for implementing the decisions of the party congress.

Soviet Trade In Struggle Against Unemployment

[Question] And would you criticize that faction which according to your understanding took the reformist path in the 1960's?

[Answer] I will not criticize any individuals, but that policy which they are carrying out. The results are now apparent. The predictions talk about 180,000--200,000 unemployed next winter, this is one example. I believe that if the whole party had made every effort to do what had to be done, the prospects would now be somewhat better.

[Question] What should have been done differently in concrete terms?

[Answer] This is difficult to define concisely and precisely. But the party should have at least made a greater effort to expand Soviet trade for the sake of employment. Greater efforts should have been made for changing the economic policy line, a struggle should have been and should be waged for managing employment, increasing the social security of people, and, of course, strengthening efforts on behalf of peace in connection with the budget negotiations, for example.

Veikko Alho states that he has received information according to which the intent is to increase defense expenditures by 20 percent in the next budget -- completely contrary to the will of the presently growing peace movement.

He does not believe the prevailing ideas on the reasons for the trade imbalance with the Soviet Union.

"The difficulties result from the fact that there is not a sufficient desire in Finland to purchase Soviet products."

[Question] However, as far as is known, there has been a concerted effort to find new import products?

[Answer] From the point of view of working people one has a mind to pose the question: has there, indeed, been a real effort? I believe that imports from the Soviet Union can be increased if the issue is approached in all seriousness and a combined effort is made in parliament on behalf of positive decisions.

There Are No Alhoites

"Party unity is possible if the equality of members is realized at all levels," states Veikko Alho enigmatically.

[Question] Has the absence of equality been the cause of difficulties in this matter?

[Answer] Once again I would say that since unity is now being built, there is reason to leave behind the aggravation of these conflicts, but it is very clear that factionalism is also promoted by the fact that not all members have been completely equal.

[Question] What is the situation with respect to Central Committee members?

[Answer] A Central Committee member does, of course, have an opportunity on his own small part to influence initial decisions.

Veikko Alho says that the vice-chairmanship came as a surprise and once again [illegible] to give a direct answer to the question that has been titillating political commentators, who proposed him for this stormy position after Taisto Sinisalo/Seppo Toiviainen. It was a unanimous, collective decision, about which [illegible] can be conjectured: a worker raised from obscurity is not hardly a [illegible] of factionalism in the manner of his predecessor, Sinisalo, in particular. There are no "Alhoites".

[illegible] Alho sees himself as a representative of working people in the party. He admits that activities at the job site -- such as workers' suggestions to [illegible] with respect to the budget debate or to the leadership of the SAK [Finnish Confederation of Trade Unions] -- may seem to be a waste of time, [illegible] crying in the wilderness.

"But the voice of the people in factories and plants should at least be heard in the SKP. The SKP is a working class party, and workers know their own conditions best. More serious attention should be given to proposals coming from the rank and file and actions should be taken to accomplish them."

Are Things Going Well?

"The Social Democrats should not at all be feared," states Veikko Alho. "But the Social Democratic Party is carrying out a reformist policy and is adapting its actions to prevailing social conditions, while only slightly improving and altering them. The aspiration of the SKP is socialism. This is its most fundamental goal."

Veikko Alho begins to warm up, a light coloring rises to his cheeks, and his foot begins to sway under the table: now we are talking about a matter that is most important to him.

[Question] Are the present socialist countries suitable models for Finland in the effort to build socialism?

[Answer] Naturally, the Soviet Union, the world's first socialist state, for example, is a good model of how a socialist society is able to build and resolve its own problems. But, of course, a socialist society always includes national traits which must be taken into consideration.

[Question] Finland would be making the transition to socialism from a completely different level of development than Russia did -- what would ensue from this? Is there a need for us to transfer to another system while this kind of prosperity prevails?

[Answer] Indeed, some of the people are doing very well. But can we generalize in this way when unemployment figures are what the are? Are things going well? In my opinion they are exceptionally bad. Unemployment with its consequences is only one example...

A shortage of labor prevails in the socialist countries, a completely converse situation. In Finland, on the other hand, a large number of people are still struggling with a completely fundamental question. The right to work should be a basic issue.

Socialism is not without its problems, but in my view socialism is striving to overcome these problems.

10576
CSO: 3107/180

BRIEFS

COMPULSORY LAWS ANNULLED--The parliament summer recess committee during its session on Wednesday, unanimously voted in favour of a bill annulling compulsory law 375 of 1936 providing for the punishment of crimes of espionage and criminal actions which threaten the external security of the country and law 942 of 1946 which provided for the taking of measures "for the assuagement of political passions." New Democracy Party parliamentar spokesman Constantine Mitsotakis said that his party had no objection to the anullment of these two laws, which he said were no longer enforced. They were bellis of an unsettled era, and were rightly abolished. Justicer Minister George Alexander Mangakis expressed his satisfaction that their abolition was agreed unanimously. This he said strengthened national unity. Mr. Mangakis said that espionage was effectively confronted through the provisions of the penal and military codes. [Text] [Athens ATHENS NEWS in English 24 Sep 82 p 4]

PRESS OFFICERS' APPOINTMENT--Government spokesman Dimitris Maroudas has defended the government's policy on the appointment of Press Officers aboard, saying that the new appointees in various foreign capitals were the best fit for the job. Referring to press reports alleging that persons irrelevant to the mission of a Press Office had been appointed to such offices the spokesman said that the PASOK government had increased the number of such offices from 16 or 17 under the previous government to 35. He stressed however that while the annual general expenses of the 17 offices totalled 300 million dr. this year's expenditure for all 35 offices totals only 170-175 million dr. In this connection, Mr. Maroudas disclosed that in the past the annual pay of the head of the Press Office in Madrid was seven million dr. a sum which today comprises the salaries of 12 employees. He said also that in the past press offices had been nurseries for idlers and centres for the waste of public funds, and that most of the employees appointed there were either not well educated or were "daughters of New Democracy officials." Mr. Maroudas said that the PASOK government had established new press offices in various Arab and East E ropean countries and elsewhere. [Text] [Athens ATHENS NEWS in English 24 Sep 82 p 4]

CSO: 4600/25

SOCIALIST-LEFT CHAIRMAN SPLITS PARTY WITH PROPOSAL

Asks Cooperation with Labor Party

Oslo DAGBLADET in Norwegian 22 Sep 82 p 2

[Article by Arne O. Holm: "Half of SV Group in Revolt Against Berge Furre"]

> [Text] The leaders of SV [Socialist-Left Party] are in a powerful conflict with each other, in full public view. "Berge Furre has caused a destructive debate," said Stein Ornhoi and Kjellbjorg Lunde in NY TID this week.

This public clash was caused by Furre's recommendation for new and closer relations between SV and the Labor Party.

Discipline

Storting representatives Kjellbjorg Lund and Stein Ornhoi do not agree with a single word of the recommendation that Berge Furre expressed some time ago. These comments directed at Furre have created great concern in SV, although the party chairman has several times given the impression that the entire matter is just loose thoughts for the time being. The statements by Lunde and Ornhoi show that the recommendation from party chairman Berge Furre was taken much more seriously within SV than had been intended. Therefore NY TID concludes that discipline in the Storting group is broken. The left wing is again in an uncompromising quarrel.

"We have had a unified organization which is strongly built. For many years it has worked without major political conflicts. And suddenly there comes a proposal which is a great surprise to nearly everyone. The only reason there has not been more uproar is that our party members are so loyal and disciplined," said Stein Ornhoi.

Conceal

Kjellbjorg Lunde said that SV, following Berge Furre's proposal, is forced to use its powers to discuss something which is without real basis, instead of unifying on the party's own policies.

"This debate conceals the conflict between SV as an alternative and the Labor Party's policies," she said. Strong words toward her own party leader. Ornhoi claimed that the party should be engaged in security policy debate instead of destructive debates over agreements with with the Labor Party.

"The problem now is that it looks like Berge Furre has started a debate in which everything is decided," said Lunde.

To the question of whether it is acceptable to SV that Furre has specified that the debate will not be concluded before 1985, Ornhoi said that a party chairman does not choose the topics of discussion at all times.

Disagree

"What I am now doing is saying that I disagree with Berge Furre's statement, and I would prefer to use our efforts to continue the political line that the party has always followed. DAGBLADET's report about the meeting between Furre and Gro Harlem Brundtland would never have been an item without Furre's proposal, said Stein Ornhoi.

It was impossible yesterday to get any comment from the leadership of SV on the criticism from half the Storting group. An automatic telephone answering machine said that the office is closed until today. In another item NY TID explains Berge Furre's attitude toward the Labor Party.

Furre Silent After Attack

Oslo DAGBLADET in Norwegian 23 Sep 82 p 2

[Text] SV chairman Berge Furre does not want to comment further on the criticism which has been directed against him in the latest number of the party newspaper NY TID by two of the party's Storting representatives. As we wrote yesterday, both Stein Ornhoi and Kjellbjorg Lunde said that Furre has caused a destructive debate in SV with his statement concerning closer cooperation between the Labor Party and SV.

"I have seen that Stein Ornhoi does not agree with me, but I will respond in the next number of NY TID. I see no reason to give DAGBLADET more material now, because among other things I am interested in discussing issues, not people. As to my future as party chairman, like all other party leaders I must say that this is a matter between me and the nominating committee," said Berge Furre.

9287
CSO: 3639/7

POLLS REGISTER BIG DROP IN SUPPORT FOR CONSERVATIVES, CENTER

Willoch Cites New Government Course

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 9 Sep 82 p 3

[Text] "After nearly a year with the Conservative Party government and a non-socialist Storting majority I can state that there has been a moderate but important change of course in Norwegian policy. One consequence of the change of government is a more goal-conscious work to restore the economy's capacity for growth. At the same time an ideological change of course has taken place, with greater weight placed on freedom of choice and possibilities of development for the individual," Prime Minister Kåre Willoch said yesterday in a speech at Bergen.

The prime minister said in his speech that some certainly will insist that the change of government has not led to changes, while others will insist that there has been a marked shift in the direction of a "harder society" and that the welfare state is in danger. Willoch characterized both positions as equally wrong, and said that what we have had is a moderate change of course in Norwegian policy.

"We have set up a number of objectives that make for better conditions for the majority of the people. Before the election last fall we carefully emphasized that after the irresponsible actions of earlier periods, which had seriously weakened the country's production capacity apart from oil, it would take time before there would again be room for a new increase in public investments. We have always assumed that it is bound to take time when the course is to be changed in the direction of new objectives, but we have not wasted any of the time that we have had at our disposal," the prime minister said.

In his opening remarks Willoch also went into security policy, and said that he does not wish to conceal the fact that he sees with growing concern signs of greater disagreement in this field in Norway. He said that it does not help much to try to gloss over a real foreign policy disagreement by pointing out that there is agreement on NATO membership, if one is really opposed to the measures that are necessary for NATO to be able to fulfill its mission. In that connection the prime minister called attention to the resistance to the NATO double resolution of 1979.

Later in his speech Prime Minister Kåre Willoch summed up the following main points of the government's work since the political change last fall:

- The state's dominance in economic life is being reduced.

- The concentration of power within the oil and energy policy is being counteracted, in part by reorganization of Statoil and the Norwegian watercourse and electricity system.

- Increased reliance on favorable economy measures.

- Discontinuation of unnecessary restrictions and interventions in order to reduce the bureaucracy and increase the freedom of action of individuals and firms.

- Loosening up of the broadcasting monopoly in favor of greater variety and freedom of choice in radio and TV.

- Greater weight on knowledges and skills in the school.

- Upholding of the physicians' free practice of their profession and the patients' free choice of physician, and greater weight on building up primary health care.

MMI Poll: Conservatives Under Thirty Percent

Oslo DAGBLADET in Norwegian 10 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by Gudleiv Forr]

> [Text] Storting elections now would have resulted in a Socialist majority in the Storting.
>
> A seat count on the basis of the MMI [Market and Media Institute] August poll gives the Labor Party and the Sosialist Left Party together 81 seats.

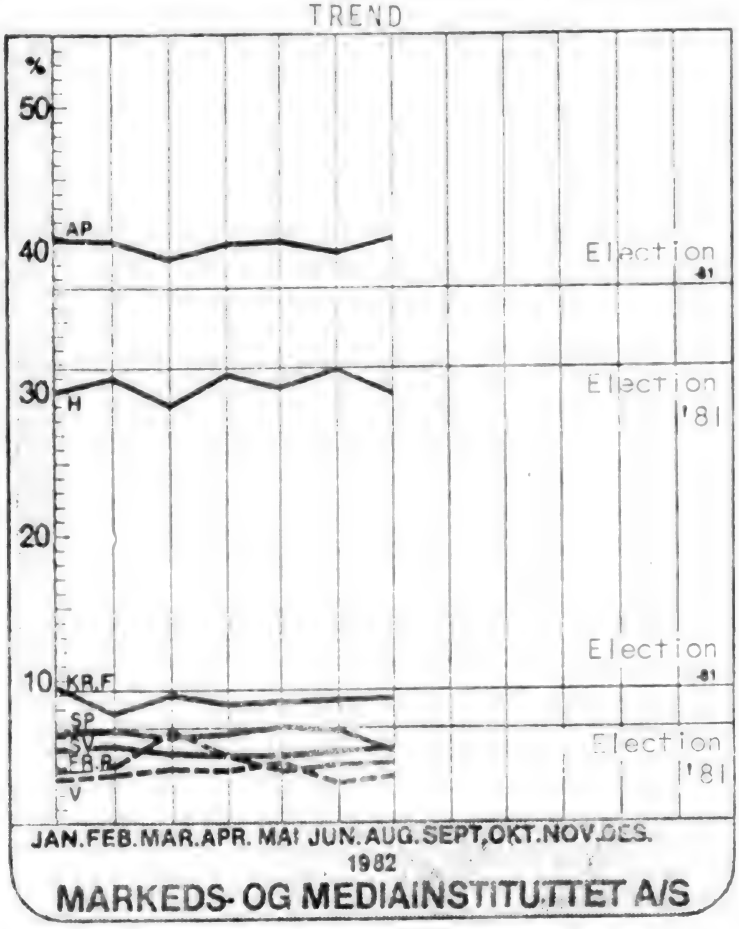
■■ MMI's August poll is the first political barometer that has been published since the summer holidays. It gives the Labor Party a support of 41.2 percent, which is a gain of 1.3 percentage points as compared to the June poll. The August figure shows the greatest support the party has gotten since the Storting election last fall.

The figures for the Center Party, on the other hand, are catastrophic. The party is now down to a support of 5 percent. That is a drop of 1.4 percentage points. The party has been passed by the SV [Socialist Left Party], which gets 5.1 percent, and is near the 4.8 percent support that the Progressive Party has attained. Five percent is the bottom record for the Center Party, but in January of last year, too, the SV was higher than the Center Party's score. According to our seat counts, which are based on the same list conditions as last fall's, the Center Party is wiped out in West Norway and is left with the Mjøsa and Trøndelag seats.

MMI's PARTIBAROMETER

	AP	SV	RV	NKP	H	KR.F	SP	DLF	V	FR.P	OTHERS
Election -81	37,1	5,0	0,7	0,3	31,8	9,3	6,6	0,6	3,9	4,5	0,2
JUN. -82	39,9	5,1	1,0	0,2	31,6	8,5	6,4	0,5	2,8	4,0	0,0
AUG. -82	41,2	5,1	0,8	0,5	29,9	8,9	5,0	0,6	3,1	4,8	0,1

TREND



MMI's Party Barometer. Abbreviations: AP: Labor Party, SV: Socialist Left Party, RV: Red Election Alliance, NKP: Norwegian Communist Party, H: Conservative Party, KR.F: Christian People's Party, SP: Center Party, DLF: Liberal People's Party, V: Liberal Party, FR.P: Progressive Party

Gain

The Christian People's Party is also still below its election results and now gets 8.9 percent, against 8.5 percent in June. The Liberal Party also has a slight gain, but is still below its election results. By our calculations the party would not have gotten a seat with the support of only 3.1 percent.

A year after the change of government the background figures indicate that the Labor Party is living a good life as opposition party. It has a stable band of voters, even though there may be signs that indicate that they are beginning to stir. But the party now has a very positive exchange ratio with the Conservative Party. That ratio, as is well known, was inverted when the Conservative Party had its greatest gain and the Labor Party reached its lowest level at the time of the election last fall. The Conservative voters, on the other hand, are restless.

Weak Support

The Center Party's decline also finds its explanation in weak support from those who voted for it in the fall election. The party is losing voters to the Conservative Party, the Christian People's Party, and the Liberal Party, but not to the Labor Party. Moreover, nearly a fifth of the Center Party's voters in the Storting election are now on the fence.

MMI's poll was taken in the period 24-31 August. It therefore reflects the voters' reaction to the political clash of the summer and fall. It is especially the hubbub concerning Tofte that occupies the central position here. But it is reasonable to assume that the course of the wage negotiations, the employment curve, and the general economic development also play a part in determing the voters' answers. As far as the Tofte affair is concerned, the conflict revolved around one of the Center Party's most prominent politicians, namely Reidar Due, chairman of the industry committee. That may explain some of the Center Party's loss.

Long-Range

But the figures are also a part of a more long-range trend. The Center Party is the one of the Willoch government's supporting parties that has come out poorest from its parliamentary rôle in the Conservative Party's shadow. The Conservative Party for its part has stayed fairly stable at a support somewhat below its election results. This picture shaped up in good time for the election, but the formation of the Willoch government appears to have been the final break in the Conservative wave. The Labor Party for its part has reached a level well above its election results. That indicates that the party, in spite of a rather dim opposition policy, has benefited from being free of responsibility and government power.

The Seats

The calculations on seats that we have done give the following composition of the Storting according to MMI's August poll: Labor Party 77 (66), Socialist Left 4 (4), Conservative Party 51 (53), Christian People's Party 14 (15), Center Party 5 (11), Liberal Party 0 (2), and Progressive Party 4 (4). The figures for the present composition are in parentheses.

Center Chief Discusses Poll Decline

Oslo DAGBLADET in Norwegian 10 Sep 82 p 3

[Interview with Johan J. Jakobsen by Ragnar Kvam Jr.]

[Text] [Question] Five percent in the poll, Johan J. How does it feel to have such a wretched figure thrown in your face?

[Answer] Had I not been blessed with a good share of steadfastness and faith in the Center Party, it could have knocked a person down.

[Question] Will the reduced support among the voters lead to your withdrawing as chairman at next year's congress?

[Answer] For a chairman the figure is depressing, of course. But no panicky reactions are coming from the party because of this opinion poll. All the same, it is clear that we are now at a level that makes it necessary to take the situation seriously.

[Question] In the main the Center Party has gone down since you became chairman in 1979. Have you still got the strength left for a new term?

[Answer] I have--I believe--a sporting attitude toward political work. The poor scores in the polls have gradually toughened me up. I still mope for a day or two, but such things have happened before.

[Question] Surely a good deal of the responsibility for the miserable trend falls on the chairman?

[Question] When you have accepted election as chairman you have also accepted a principle responsibility.

[Question] The Tofte affair, Reidar Due's much-discussed double rôle--is that the explanation this time?

[Answer] If the Tofte affair had had an effect, all parties would have had to bear their part of the burden. No, we must seek the explanation at a different level. The Center Party has a narrower framework to work in today.

[Question] Narrower framework?

[Answer] We assumed a considerable responsibility by our support of the government. That has led to certain stresses without our being able at the same time to participate in the plus points that fall to the government.

[Question] You just get the buds while the Conservative Party can harvest the ripe fruit, in other words. That must be frustrating, is it not?

[Answer] We have not lost the belief that we shall also harvest ripe berries, although in the short run we cannot count on eating cherries with the big parties.

[Question] Then you would like to get into the government as soon as possible in order to get part of the plus points?

[Answer] The situation that made a majority government impossible still exists. It is therefore not realistic to push for such a government in the short run.

[Question] I wonder whether you do a little wishful thinking.

[Answer] I do not ignore the fact that it would have made the situation easier if we had been participating in the government. That was also the reason that our congress voted unanimously for the Center Party to participate in the government.

[Question] But now that you are not a part of the Willoch government, you get out of signing every unpopular item that comes up in the state budget. Do you not find that delightful?

[Answer] We are a responsible party and must therefore be willing to accept the burdens that go with that. None of the three parties can free itself of the responsibility for the tightening up of the economy that is forcing itself upon us; we have to share that in any case. The tactical problem lies in the fact that the tidbits that the budget does contain may easily bear only the Conservative Party's label. That is clearly part of the explanation of our low score in the poll.

[Question] Why do you not pull the party loose from the Conservative Party instead?

[Answer] We are urged from time to time to seek a position independent of the Conservative Party. But look at the Liberal Party; they are taking such a line and getting nothing out of it.

[Question] You talk about a desire for responsibility. Can you not have that together with the Labor Party?

[Answer] For us it has been natural to work for a non-socialist alternative, and that has not changed. A distant idea for the Labor Party, too, I should think.

[Question] You can no longer call yourselves a people's party. You are only a little farmers' party, are you not?

[Answer] We are still the biggest farmers' party. But if we look at our political activity over the past 3 or 4 years, it is not primarily agricultural policy that has marked our work.

[Question] Surely the voters have not taken much notice of that?

[Answer] Well, we work all the time with fundamental questions of society.

[Question] DAGBLADET has figured out a probable distribution of seats in the Storting based on the MMI poll. It gives the Center Party 5 seats instead of 11.

[Answer] Well, yes. But we will just take that fairly calmly for the time being; we cannot resign ourselves to counting seats on the basis of a single poll.

Everything cannot have crumbled into rubble.

Conservative Organ Discusses Poll

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 11 Sep 82 p 2

[Editorial: "No, No Change of Government"]

[Text] The latest poll by the Market and Media Institute is presented in some news media in such a way as almost to give the impression that a change of government is imminent. But that, of course, is not the case. However interesting it may be to record a gain for the Labor Party, it should also be pointed out that it all revolves around a single poll, and that we shall have a long series of such polls before the next Storting election, which takes place 3 years from now--in September 1985.

How much can happen in the course of those years... No poll can so much as suggest the relative strength of the parties in a situation that nobody can foresee today. It can be assumed, to be sure, that the Labor Party and the Conservative Party will stand out still more as the chief political opponents, most especially if the Christian People's Party and the Center Party still fail to take governing responsibility. But nobody can be sure today about how the non-socialist cooperation will develop, and it is certainly not without importance to the election outcome 3 years hence how the Conservative Party, the Christian People's Party, and the Center Party carry out the mandate they got jointly from the voters. All in all there are a number of unknown factors, and as is well known, it is difficult to prophesy--especially about the future.

Let us therefore keep firmly in mind that even if the latest MMI survey would have given a socialist majority and a change of government, with Gro Harlem Brundtland as prime minister, there is no Storting election until 3 years from now. And then the voters themselves will decide whether we shall have a socialist or a non-socialist government. This does not mean at all that we undervalue the importance of the monthly polls as a basis for evaluating a political trend. By studying the fighres *over time* we can learn a great deal about voter reactions and about the main political shifts among those who in the final analysis will determine the composition of the Storting. One of the most important things we have been able to observe since the Storting election last fall is an increasing support for the Labor Party, although one could normally expect a more sharply rising curve for the biggest opposition party in the time after an election. That is especially true in a period of increasing economic difficulties as a result of a persistent international crisis, and when the sitting government is exposed to greater stresses than it otherwise would be. But that the Labor Party has managed in the course of the last year to win back a considerable number of lost voters on a national basis there is no doubt at all. And there is obviously every reason to take notice of this trend.

But the various polls also show *another* main trend, and that is the remarkably high stability of the support for the governing Conservative Party. To be sure,

the party has lost since the election victory last fall, and that, too, is "normal." It is only that the decline--insofar as it can be registered in the polls --is less than is usual for government parties in a period after an election. What the polls do show convincingly is that the election result last fall was not an accidental voting fluctuation, but a manifestation of far-reaching changes in the voter structure, conditioned by economic and sociological conditions. Another factor contributing to the high stability is undoubtedly that the Conservative Party took on the responsibility of government in a difficult time and that the Willoch government has enjoyed a good opinion among voters throughout.

What is really disturbing, however, is the shrinking support of the Christian People's Party and especially the Center Party, the two parties that chose to stay out of the non-socialist cabinet formation last fall. We know that that position was in conflict with what a definite majority of those parties' voters had looked forward to. The long-term trend--which is clear enough--can, therefore, hardly come as a surprise.

Second Poll Confirms Drop For Conservatives

Oslo ARBEIDERBLADET in Norwegian 15 Sep 82 p 8

[Article by Tone B. Jamholt]

> [Text] The Conservative Party is losing its grip in Oslo. The party has dropped sharply, while the Labor Party shows a corresponding gain. The same trend is making itself felt nationally.
>
> That is shown by a study that Norwegian Market Data worked out on the basis of the poll figures over the first half of 1982.

A Storting election today would result in a socialist majority. For one thing, the Labor Party would take one seat away from the Conservative Party in Oslo.

"Gratifying," says Bjørn Tore Godal, chairman of the Oslo Labor Party.

For the last 6 months of 1981 the Oslo Labor Party had a voter adherence of 31.7 percent. During the first 6 months of this year that rose to 35.8 percent. In the same period of time the Conservatives dropped from 43.5 percent to 39.8 percent. If there had been a Storting election these parties would have come out with six seats each, while the other parties would have kept their seats.

"That made you happy, did it not, Bjørn Tore Godal?"

"Yes, the figures do show a positive development for us, and that makes us happy. But the development is consistent with what we expected. The whole of the policy the Conservative Party is now following locally and centrally works in our favor."

"The election campaign is coming on. Does a favorable figure in the poll help?"

"It is very encouraging to our elected representatives. It will stimulate us in the election campaign," says Godal.

Gain in the Counties

The Labor Party can note gains and chances at Storting seats in several counties, a trend that has maintained itself over several months. In the counties of Østfold, Akershus, and Vestfold the Labor Party takes a seat away from the Conservative Party, while the Socialist Left Party takes one from the Christian People's Party. In Hedemark, Oppland, Buskerud, and Telemark the Labor Party takes two seats, the Center Party loses one, and the Christian People's Party gains one. In the three northernmost counties, too, the Labor Party will, according to this study, win back two seats, and will take both from the Conservative Party.

Socialist Majority

If there had been a Storting election today, the socialists would again have gained a majority in the Storting. The Labor Party would have gained 7 seats in comparison to the 1981 election and wound up with 73 seats. The Socialist Left Party would have gained 1 seat and had a total of 5. The Progressive Party would also have gained 1 seat and had a delegation of 5.

The rest would have lost seats. The Conservative Party would have lost 2 seats and been left with 51. The Christian People's Party would have lost 3 and been left with 12. The Center Party is perhaps the party that is losing most by cooperation with the Conservative Party. Today it would have lost 4 seats and wound up with 7. The Liberal Party would have held its two seats.

6813
CSO: 3639/3

'RESERVED' WILLOCH SEEN HAVING CHANGED LITTLE IN DOMESTIC POLICY

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 25 Sep 82 p 18

/Commentary by Bjorn Lindahl: "Cold Winds for Norway's Conservative Party"/

> /Text/ A year has gone by since the Conservative Party came to power in Norway. Already cold autumn winds are blowing for Kare Willoch. Cooperation with the other non-socialist parties is not running smoothly. Unemployment is rising, oil prices are dropping and the government is forced to cut popular programs in the public sector. But on 6 October Prime Minister Willoch will present the first Conservative budget in 50 years in Norway and it contains increased defense appropriations and tax relief for individuals and companies. The Social Democratic opposition is expected to launch a fierce counterattack.

Oslo, Friday--Fall has arrived and with it a harsher economic climate for Norway and colder winds for the Conservative government. For the first time since Kare Willoch became prime minister a year ago the opinion polls now indicate a socialist majority in Norway.

It must be with a great deal of concern that Kare Willoch now sees the Social Democratic victory in Sweden. In the Swedish debate Norwegian politics are often represented as one step ahead of the Swedish, referring above all to the success of the Conservative Party for which the /Swedish/ Conservatives are aiming.

But this can very well be viewed in the opposite manner. The oil strikes and a countereconomic policy, financed by foreign loans, during the mid-1970's has delayed, but not prevented, the economic crisis from reaching Norway as well. Just when the non-socialists came to power the first signals occurred that the price of oil would drop, and the unemployment figures rose dramatically this summer. The LO /Federation of Trade Unions/ now fears a winter with 50,000 jobless--figures which are very high in Norway.

As in Sweden, it is the three non-socialist parties which must now cut spending in the public sector. The colder it gets, the more voters will find their way back to the Labor Party, which has always talked about the welfare state, work for everyone and security.

Cooperation Not Running Smoothly

The strain on the non-socialist cooperation will become great and the parties are now cautioning each other against Swedish conditions.

But these are not equal parties which are now negotiating: The Conservative Party is more than twice as large as the middle parties together. When the Center Party and the Christian People's Party take political inventory after the first year, there are not many central issues beyond the ones the Conservative Party has already pushed for which they have succeeded in implementing.

And yet it is the Conservative Party which had to carry the main burden of the form of cooperation now chosen. Altogether, the Conservative Party has lost more than the middle parties, although it is more noticeable in the small parties.

In one of the opinion polls a few weeks ago the Center Party was almost at the point of being wiped out. It ended up with five percent, which is a new low. Translated into mandates, the party would lose six of its eleven Storting representatives.

No Coalition

A coalition government cannot be formed until after the party meeting of the Christian People's Party in April next year. Only at that time can the party's decision only to participate in a government which revokes the right to free abortion be changed. But not even then is it certain that the section of the party which favors the government will win. This week former party leader Lars Korvald poured fresh salt into the party's wounds by asserting that the abortion decision must last the entire election period.

The Center Party is sitting on the sidelines, frustrated. It wants to participate in the government, but to do so would be suicide. Only in cooperation with the Christian People's Party can the party achieve any negotiation strength.

The real test for Kare Willoch and the non-socialist coalition will be the national budget which will be submitted on 6 October. It will be the first Conservative budget in more than 50 years, and expectations are high in the government's own ranks. Kare Willoch has made it clear that the Conservatives have [illegible] in a government position unless the major outlines go through.

Increased Defense

[illegible] information is leaking from all directions concerning what the budget will contain. Some of what has come out is:

- The government will propose real cuts, amounting to 1 billion kronor, in per[illegible] and 1/2 million for the companies.

- There will be cuts in all areas except defense, which will increase by four [illegible], and the health and social budget, which will be kept at the present [illegible].

--A special 2,000-kronor tax deduction for those who live in Finnmark and the five most northerly municipalities in Troms.

Tactical Leaks

There is a great deal of tactic behind these leaks, since the popular proposals have time to take root, and the middle parties will get the blame if the bills are not passed. A proposal to increase taxes on single homes, on the other hand, met with such massive opposition from the government party itself that it was quickly abandoned.

Gare Willoch now uses the two devaluations totalling 6.4 percent of the Norwegian krona as an argument for the necessity of undertaking these tax cuts, since the devaluation will lead to higher prices and otherwise the trade unions will demand compensation.

But the middle parties have only obligated themselves not to raise taxes automatically with inflation--that is already 3 billion. If any money is left over they want to give it to families with children.

What differences, then, have the Norwegians experienced during the first year with the Conservative Party?

No Abrupt Changes

There have not been any abrupt changes in policy. To many, the biggest difference has perhaps been that market forces will be allowed more room in the housing policy. The Conservative Party eliminated the public taxation which previously kept prices down for tenant-owned housing. In many places apartments increased 70-150 percent in value overnight, sums which usually went under the table. This fall another change in the law will come, which will make it possible to dissolve private tenant-owners' associations for owned apartments.

Furthermore, the Conservative Party prevented a tax increase last year. Tax cuts on stock dividends and a special system of savings through taxes were also introduced.

Much Left

The Norwegian radio and television monopoly was broken up during the year. Today a large portion of the households can receive local radio, local television and a British television satellite.

Greater emphasis is placed on entrance grades for universities and advanced schools.

But a great deal remains. The Conservative Party has not restored growth to industry, which was the foremost motto of the election campaign. Unemployment has risen 40 percent in comparison with last year and inflation is still high.

The Conservative Party has avoided a price freeze and concentrated on competition, and it believes that this is the reason for the fact that inflation has dropped a few percentage points to 12 percent. But in the most important industrial nations it has dropped even more rapidly and is now down to five, six percent.

What further remains is to reduce the power of Statoil and to make its Norol chain of gasoline stations privately owned.

Despite the potential tax cuts this year there is a great deal left of the 7 billion promised by the Conservative Party.

Willoch Silent

Kare Willoch has been surprisingly reticent as prime minister in the Conservative government. He was known for maintaining strict control over the party when in opposition and many expected that he, just as Gro Harlem Brundtland, would dominate the government as well.

Instead, the various ministers had to govern as best they could. It is only in financial policy that Kare Willoch and Finance Minister Rolf Presthus appear as a pair--without the latter for that reason always having been forewarned about the prime minister's next move, as was shown in the debate last spring when Kare Willoch tried to back out of the tax promises.

But it must also be frustrating that the actions of the OPEC and the oil market have more impact on Norway's economy than what the Conservative Party is capable of. Hot air from the Arab countries can make the party's balloon take off. But it could just as well be the other way around. On the ground Gro Harlem Brundtland stands waiting.

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CSO: 3650/3

PAPER VIEWS CHRISTIAN PARTY SPLIT, POLL DECLINE

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 28 Sep 82 p 2

[Editorial: "Voters in Doubt"]

[Text] Obviously one should not place exaggerated emphasis on changes in political opinion polls from one month to the next. The leadership of the Christian People's Party [KRF] can, however, hardly close their eyes to the fact that these polls are all pointing in the wrong direction for the party. Support of 7.7 percent is the lowest figure since the war. It is undoubtedly a correct observation to say that uncertainty reigns among the voters, and the leadership as well as the party organization have a direct incentive to discuss the situation.

The question is raised concerning the KRF position on Israel and the invasion of Lebanon. Incorrect quotations and/or some unclear speech on this matter can possibly have had certain effects. But the line that the party has now established, as to the responsibility for the massacres, demand for investigation, etc., hardly needs to be a minus. Furthermore it must be noted that the weak figures began long before the invasion. Also last year's election result was, as will be remembered, not very inspiring for KRF.

The voters are in doubt about what KRF stands for in vital political questions. Two prominent spokesmen put it this way: Confidence in the party will increase the day we once again can speak with one tongue. We must undergo a purification process and find out the truth. Today we are breaking up because we are too unsteady in government discussion following the deviation by the coalition Conservative Party on the abortion issue.

Apparently this is the heart of the problem. It is here that the discussion will take place, or where the buck will stop. The need for a clarification of the party's position on government cooperation has become very urgent.

Two viewpoints conflict. The religious attitude, which dictates that KRF should limit its role to being a guardian of the moral answers for society and a kind of lighthouse in the Storting, in principle unconnected to the

political blocs. And the opposite viewpoint which means nothing more than that the party should work to create political power and positions to carry out the greatest possible number of its programs over the entire spectrum of issues.

One of the "grand old men" of the party, Lars Korvald, has recently struck a solid blow for the first viewpoint, while large groups of voters and the leaders of organizations which support the party seem to be of the opposite opinion.

It is only KRF itself which can carry out the purification process which its spokesmen are now seeking. For our part we will merely confirm that if they end up nearest the guardian of morals viewpoint, large numbers of their present voters will feel rather homeless. An entirely new situation will arise, based on future government developments and political alternatives. Variety in the active political process will be reduced. And the sum of it all--the polarizing or dividing of Norwegian politics, which is so strongly deplored, will have gained extended possibilities of growth.

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CSO: 3639/7

CENTER PARTY REEXAMINING COALITION ROLE AFTER POLL DROP

Most Center Party Voters Want Coalition

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 13 Sep 82 p 2

[Editorial]

[Text] NATIONEN, the main organ of the Center Party, comments in a frank and thought-evoking editorial on what the paper itself describes as "the Center Party's miserable showing in the poll." NATIONEN points out rightly that the party has a disturbingly low voter support compared to earlier elections. And with regard to future Storting representation the paper does not conceal the fact that the situation will begin to become really critical unless the Center Party succeeds in getting out of the declining trend it has been caught in for a long time. NATIONEN then speaks in favor of new discussions of what can make positive contributions to getting the party up out of the slump, and this view is shared by four county chairmen who have been interviewed by the paper. Their statements leave a definite impression that in the present situation it would be right for the Center Party to share governing responsibility with the Conservative Party.

The apparent satisfaction with the rôle of a supporting party that has been expressed by the party chairman, Johan J. Jakobsen, and other prominent spokesmen seems to have received a serious blow when it was exposed to a new poll shock. We have stated on several occasions that both the Center Party and the Christian People's Party should have participated in the government formation together with the Conservative Party after the non-socialist election victory last fall. And we have also said that the Center Party, for its part, should have thought through still more closely whether the party would not have been served by going into the government *even though* the Christian People's Party found that it must stay out. Our grounds were always the same as NATIONEN cites in the aforementioned editorial, namely:

"The worst thing that can happen to a party is to become politically uninteresting. If a party gets small enough the danger of suffering such a fate is present to a high degree. Rôles as swing parties rarely command the voters' respect; they remain easily shifting small parties that in the voters' eyes do not represent any independent political alternative."

For its own sake, last but not least, the Center Party should take the present situation up for serious consideration and put an end to its continuing dilemma. The county chairman in Rogaland words it as follows: "We must either cut loose from the Conservative Party and the non-socialist bloc, or go into a government that can give us increased influence." Implying: the rôle as a supporting party means that the Center Party is falling between two stools.

To make its position clear to the voters, consideration should be given to whether the Center Party should issue a clear announcement that the party is ready to take governing responsibility. Such a declaration of willingness could be adopted now regardless of what the Christian People's Party comes up with at its congress in the spring of 1983.

A poll taken by the Norwegian Opinion Institute in May showed that 90 percent of the Christian People's Party's voters and 69 percent of the Center Party's want a majority government of the three cooperating parties. Among the Conservative Party's voters the percentage was somewhat lower, which is understandable inasmuch as the Conservative Party is now in power alone. Under any circumstances the conclusion is clear, and all the more so as the polls have clearly shown that the voters want a broad coalition government.

The time has obviously come for the Center Party to come out of the smokescreen with which it has surrounded itself and again make its position clear as a party that wants to take responsibility.

Party Leadership to Discuss Coalition

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN 14 Sep 82 p 5

[Article by Kjell Harberg]

> [Text] The mood in the Center Party is for full participation in a non-socialist coalition government. Signals from elected party officials from one end of the country to the other to "get out of the Conservative Party's embrace" are an alien approach to the problem. These are views that the party leadership, with chairman and parliamentary leader Johan J. Jakobsen at its head, will encounter when the political situation is discussed in the party's national committee early in October.

It has long been recognized in the Center Party that the way out that was [illegible] when a majority government based on the Conservative Party, the Christian People's Party, and the Liberal Party proved impossible has not met the [illegible]. The position that the party could have had as a government [illegible] with the possibility of actively influencing proposals and decisions [illegible]-to-day work in the ministries and the cabinet, cannot be attained [illegible] situation where the party's own people often feel that they are standing [illegible]" when an attempt is made to influence the government's policy. [illegible] said in leading party circles, even what has been achieved through [illegible] during the past year will be forgotten when the voters are ap[illegible] part played by the Center Party.

It has been indicated from several quarters within the party that perhaps it is time to let the Christian People's Party sail its own course and make it known in principle that the Center Party wants to participate in the government. These are views that will be brought out in the central committee debate at the meeting at Halvorsbøle on 9 and 10 October, but according to AFTENPOSTEN's information it is not expected that the central committee will adopt any resolution to that effect. But even in top party circles it is assumed that to a greater degree than ever before the debate will tend in the direction of a position favoring government participation for the Center Party.

And what about the opposition within the party, the former "guerillas" that persistently opposed any form of cooperation with the Conservative Party? AFTEN POSTEN is informed that the East Norway editor Andreas Hagen and his wing stand lower in the party than ever before. It is also symptomatic that during the last year the debate has never been dominated by the forces that want the Center Party out of cooperation between the Center Party and the Conservative Party that the party congress resolution commits the party to.

And while the editor Hagen also writes now that "the Center Party has arrived at a point in its development that it should break out of the Conservative Party's embrace and undertake an ideological rearmament that can produce a new advance," the mood within the party clearly leans toward the view that the solution is to be found in active political work and responsibility within a government.

Chairman Jakobsen Comments

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 14 Sep 82 p 5

> [Text] The Center Party's almost unanimous resolution at the 1981 party congress implies a definite coresponsibility for a non-socialist administration in this country. It goes without saying that the Center Party stands by its commitments.

That is what Johan J. Jakobsen, chairman of the Center Party, said in a speech in Sandnes yesterday. "A party that through the years has had a desire for responsibility as its motto will not fail to welcome responsibility, even though that implies stresses in the short run," Jakobsen said, and continued: "Consequently, the parties with which we are cooperating must also accept the fact that a responsibility for political and parliamentary stability also implies that we have a demand for political influence. Nobody can demand that a party in cooperation gives up the platform that gives it its political identity.

"Party resolutions and promises can never stand in the way of a continuous appraisal of the forms and models of cooperation. Developments since the election have thus far given no basis for any sign of a change of course. Nor have the political conditions changed essentially since last fall," Jakobsen says, and emphasizes that the challenge today is especially to choose methods of work and forms of cooperation that make it possible to exert influence. "At the same time," he pointed out, "we must build up a political capital of our own that can benefit us when we next appear before the voters.

"It is this that must be the basis for the debate. Not the question of 'throwing in the cards' or abandoning the obligations we have assumed," the chairman of the Center Party said.

Government Participation Decision in March

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 16 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by Thorleif Andreassen]

> [Text] The Center Party stands by its congress resolution that the party desires participation in the government. But whether the party will go into the government during this term will not be clarified until the next congress. And that is in March of next year. "The parliamentary situation does not give grounds for quick, dramatic changes. That ball is not out of play yet, either."

So said Johan J. Jakobsen, chairman of the Center Party, when the party's draft of a new program of principles was presented yesterday--a draft that the Center Party characterizes as follows: "It has a clearer Center Party profile than earlier programs."

With the exception of the commune veto right, there is little new in the draft. In matters where the results are lasting in character, such as severe encroachments on nature, the Center Party feels that the communes concerned should have a right of veto postponing the decision until after the next Storting election. The meaning of this proposal is that two different Stortings must make a decision when it comes to setting the popular will aside.

At a press conference in Oslo yesterday Secretary General Svein Sundsbø stated that the draft program marks a clear boundary both on the right and on the left. "We do not believe either in the free play of market forces or in a socialistic central management."

In answer to a question whether the party's "green" profile has faded, Sundsbø answered: "There were several isolated dabs of color in the old program. We have become not less green, but more effectively green!"

As expected, district policy got a very central place in the draft program. It is a basic objective to preserve the main pattern of our settlement. And the Center Party appears to be willing to pay the price for that, cost what it may. [illegible] emphasized that a district-policy position must permeate the whole spectrum of political remedies. Special district-policy measures must be resorted to even if district considerations may cost something in the short term in the form of lower efficiency, according to the draft.

[illegible] attempt to conceal the fact that there are limits to how much can be loaded on to the welfare curve before it gets too heavy to carry. But it is brought out that the party sets clear limits to protect social benefits. The party favors a more equal distribution of income and property in the society. At the same time it says no to an equality notion that gives equal access to

[illegible]ls regardless of contribution. It is felt that weighing economic equality against rewards for socially beneficial contributions is one of the most important challenges to the party.

Considerable space is also devoted to work for peace. It is stated that the responsibility for disarmament and arms control lies primarily with the great powers which have the biggest arsenals of weapons. But, it is pointed out, small nations must also make a contribution. The Center Party sees it as an important part of the détente policy that Norway develop bilateral agreements with the various East European countries. Atomic-weapon-free zones, it is felt, should be a part of the work for reduction of armaments and détente.

Does the Center Party want to start this work with a Nordic zone? To that question the secretary general of the party answers: We do not reject such a solution in the Nordic regions, but that must come about as a part of an international system of agreements in which both NATO and the Warsaw Pact take part.

Besides all this the party wants to restrict the oil workers' right to strike, strengthen general development at all levels of education, and gradually reduce the big central institutions within the health system. It is recommended that care and treatment be taken over by smaller units close to home.

It was not a new program that the Center Party presented yesterday, but a revised and more precise version of the earlier program of principles.

Party Program Reflects Profile Dilemma

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 17 Sep 82 p 2

[Editorial: "Profile of Center Party"]

[Text] The draft of a new program of principles for the Center Party confirms the continuing dilemma that party finds itself in, practically, politically, and ideologically. The party leadership realizes quite clearly that the Center Party is falling between two stools, and the decreasing support over time leaves hardly any special doubt that the voters have long since come to the same conclusion. A party that lacks a clear identity and that is also not in a position to play a more active and meaningful rôle cannot expect to attract very great interest among the general public. What is surprising is that the Center Party's responsible leadership still fails to draw the conclusions concerning the party's present situation, and continues to float around in a gray zone in a time when there is reason to look forward to a joint non-socialist offensive. We underscore *offensive*, for that is exactly what we need now to meet the problems and challenges that Norwegian society faces.

At a press conference in connection with the presentation of the new draft program the leadership of the Center Party gave clearly to understand that they are greatly concerned with bringing out the party's distinctive character better and more clearly than before. Thus Svein Sundsbø, the secretary general, said that he could state that the draft of a new program of principles marks a clear dividing line both to right and left. After study of the available material it appears that these efforts were successful only in a modest degree.

The secretary general found special cause to emphasize that the Center Party does not believe in the free play of market forces, and we assume that the purpose of this statement was to indicate the necessary distance from the Conservative Party. The only thing is that our present governing party is so far from being an exponent of the "free play of forces," and instead strives for a social market economy in which emphasis is placed on the relationship between economic growth, greater efficiency, and the ability to help persons who need society's support. We hope that the Center Party--like the Conservative Party --sees this relationship, which is really quite decisive for our being able to solve the problems that society faces today.

But in all fairness, in one respect the Center Party does present a profile that differs programmatically from what is found in the other responsible parties, and that is in the district policy. For the Center Party it is a basic objective to maintain the main pattern of our settlement, and evidently they are willing to pay the price for that, cost what it may. In the draft program this is formulated as follows: "Special district policy measures must be taken--even though from the district point of view this may cost something in the short term in the form of lower economic effectiveness." Such an objective can in reason only be taken to mean that the Center Party for its part is prepared to continue the state's injections of millions into pure deficit enterprises, into firms that have no right to life. To insist on such a policy is to walk backwards into the future--if there is any future at all in taking an artificial right to life as a basis.

8815
CSO: 3639/5

CHRISTIAN PARTY STORTING CHIEF'S ABORTION STAND STIRS IRE

Oslo DAGBLADET in Norwegian 23 Sep 82 p 2

[Article by Eva Bratholm: "Korvald's Book Splits KRF"]

> [Text] On the surface it is a question of whether the party will advertise for a commercial firm. In reality it is a matter of deep and internal disagreement on the policies of KRF [Christian People's Party]. The uncompromising opponents of voluntary abortion and compromises in government are ardently backing Korvald's book. Those who favor compromise, those who want to remove the abortion question as an obstacle to government compromise, would like to suppress the entire book.

Lars Korvald has many times been decisive in the political arena. Now he is doing it in the form of his political testament. His message is entirely unequivocal that the party is on the way to destruction if it separates the abortion issue from government cooperation. During the past year there have been large parts of the party which believe that politics must be conducted within the system, not outside its gates. These people believe that one can be an opponent of abortion and still sit in the government.

County Parties

But that is not the entire KRF. On the list of county parties which have asked for meetings with Korvald about his book one can also read through to the attitudes. Korvald will go to Rogaland, Hordaland, Ostfold, Hedmark, Oppland, Buskerud, Aust-Agder, Vest-Agder and Oslo.

In Oslo the KRF Youth have arranged the meeting about Lars Korvald's book. The reason for that is that the Oslo KRF did not want to do it. National secretary Arne Dale at KRF headquarters told DAGBLADET that they answered yes to the application because the youth organization considered itself on the same wavelength with Korvald and wanted to discuss the book.

Collection

The official explanation for not arranging the meeting or discussing the book is that would be mixing politics and commercial activities. Publisher Terje Rott is himself a member of the party and had prepared for local party meetings with presentation of the book. The local parties were to pay the local rent, but could themselves take the income from the collection. A number of the local parties protested this, and there seems to have been large agreement between those who do not support Korvald's line and those who were afraid of mixing book sales and politics.

"It would perhaps have been better if the firm had prepared a purely commercial line, but I thought that this discussion could be useful for the party also," said Terje Rott in the Rocon Company.

Internal Debate

At the top level Lars Korvald's book hardly exists. Parliamentary leader Kjell Magne Bondevik and the party chairman Kare Kristiansen have agreed not to comment on it. The reason is that they want to keep the debate on abortion, compromises and government cooperation within the party.

The KRF newspaper FOLKETS FRAMTID has not brought out anything about Lars Korvald's book. They have also said that the reason is disagreement with the firm, but there is widespread understanding that the reason is political disagreement. FOLKETS FRAMTID is known as the organ of the cooperation wing and Kare Kristiansen.

Chairman Conflict

KRF's coming national congress is prepared for a chairman conflict between the two leading figures Kristiansen and Bondevik. It is unknown which of them would benefit most by the suppression of Korvald's book, but certain circles in the party claim that it is Bondevik--because he, confronted by Korvald's hard line, must express what he really thinks on the questions of abortion and government.

[illegible]
CSO: 3639/7

PALME, IN OPEN LETTER TO OPPONENTS, TRIES TO EASE FEARS

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 17 Sep 82, p 2

/Article by Social Democratic Party leader Olof Palme: "Election Tactics Reason for Negative Attitude"/

> /Text/ We are convinced that once the election campaign is over there will no longer be any reason for the non-socialists and business and industry to maintain the negative attitude prompted by election tactics. Then there must once again be room for constructive discussions about the actual issues. This is why our outstreched hand is still there, our offer for joint efforts to lead the country out of the difficult economic crisis. This is what the Social Democratic Party chairman, Olof Palme, writes.

Private capital owners are said to have invested about 100 million kronor in the most extensive scare-tactic campaign ever in our country. Practically every conceivable method of political advertising and propaganda has been employed in order to depict Social Democracy as democratically unreliable and in order to achieve a rigid confrontation. It does not seem as if they have managed to shake our democratic credibility. And they have not succeeded in provoking us to pay back in the same currency. We have stuck to objective discussion and have kept our hand extended to our opponents.

This is already a major victory, because the problems facing our country are serious.

Industrial production in our country is now about 10 percent below the level we had in the mid 1970's. Industrial investments have dropped so far that they are now the lowest in two decades. This long period without any increase in production had led to our country's assumption of excessively large debts and deficits.

Unemployment has risen. In the mid-1970's it was about 1.5 percent. Now, we approach 4 percent. The number of job opportunities in industry have decreased by 100,000 in the last 6 years.

But the most serious consequence for the future is still the much too low level of saving. And by that I mean actual saving, that is to say setting aside a portion of society's income in order to build for the future.

If we do not today set aside for the future and build for the future, we will not have any opportunity of creating full employment and retaining our social security and welfare.

Almost everyone agrees on one thing. It is that industry must grow. The greater investments which must be made must be concentrated to industry, to new factories and machines. We can only reduce our large deficit vis-a-vis foreign countries and manage our large debts if industry becomes bigger and stronger.

We must save more than today, or we cannot succeed in financing the increased industrial investments we need. It could be a matter of another 10 billion kronor per year in comparison with today's level.

There are in principle two ways to go about increasing our collective savings. And increase our savings we must. One way is to completely rely on acquiring the capital needed for investments through savings by private persons and private companies. In that case we must accept that there are major differences in income and wealth, and that these differences will continue to grow. The practical significance of this way to increase savings is that 80-90 percent of the households have to forgo this in favor of those who can afford to save greater amounts.

The other way involves building up a joint savings system, in which those who forgo can share in the values that are created and the influence which accompanies the saving.

Whichever way we choose to increase saving, it means that we must restrain consumption, that is to say give up some portion. The question is therefore not whether we will give up, but to whom we are to give up.

An essential part of the business and industry propaganda is centered precisely around the contention that "you have to give up part of your wages." The intent is to make it appear as if there will be more room for wages without wage earner funds. This is nothing but common argumentation. Nothing is more certain than that it will be just the opposite in the next round of wage negotiations. Then the arguments by the SAF /Swedish Employers' Confederation/ and others will be that the wage earners must hold down their wage demands so that the companies will be more profitable and can afford to make the necessary investments.

Thus: There is not much room for wages without the funds. Instead, the difference is that without funds the wage earners are to give up something in order for the minority who already owns the companies to be able to increase its wealth and its power even more.

This is why we say: We must increase savings in society and the saved capital must be funneled to productive investments which provide employment. But--wage earner funds are necessary, if this is to take place without widening the economic gaps and without further concentrating the economic power.

Only by giving the wage earners influence over the use of the money they have saved up is it possible to insure that the money is used to create increased production and not increased speculation.

Naturally, the wage earner funds alone cannot solve our economic problems. We also never contended that. Society must still have the task of conducting a [illegible] economic policy, an active policy for business and industry, an ambitious regional policy. We have further presented a broad program for leading Sweden out of the economic crisis. But wage earner funds are included as an essential component in our collective policy in order to create employment, production and social justice.

The Swedish Democratic Party congress has established certain principles for a system of wage earner funds. Briefly, they are:

1. The funds will be financed through a combination of profit-sharing and wage-based deductions.

2. The funds will invest their capital in healthy enterprises and thus be administered in such a manner that they yield a normal return.

3. The funds are also to counteract any power concentration within business and industry. It presumes a simultaneously collective, democratic and decentralized administration of the funds. The funds are also to provide influence to the employees in companies where the capital of the funds is working.

We want to gather broad support for the wage earner funds. This is why we have not tied our hands with regard to the most immediate formulation of the system or the time frame for its realization.

A Social Democratic government will very soon invite the labor market partners, [illegible] and industry and the political parties to discussions about these issues.

We ourselves will arrive at these talks with an open attitude. We are prepared to have a thorough discussion of the shape of the fund system, on the basis of the principles we have established and, as always, take the opinions of others into account.

The non-socialist camp and in business and industry people have recently devoted themselves mostly to talking about not wanting to talk with us about wage earner funds.

I regard this as nothing more than an element of the election campaign. The results of years of non-socialist politics are such that they cannot even be defended. This is why the non-socialists view intimidation propaganda about the funds as their only chance in this election campaign.

Nevertheless, it was not very long ago that non-socialist parties and representatives of business and industry were prepared to discuss the difficult problems we want to attack with the help of wage earner funds. It is during this earlier period that statements such as these can be found:

"Wage earner funds as a principle are inescapable in a modern industrial society." (Nils G. Asling /Center Party/ 1979.)

"It is possible for the Center Party, Liberal Party and Social Democrats to agree on the wage earner funds. On the other hand, the Center Party cannot agree with the Conservatives on this issue." (Anders Dahlgren /Center Party/ 1979.)

Pehr G. Gyllenhammar said only a month ago, that "if a government elected by the people calls you to a debate, I think it is only common courtesy and part of the rules of the game in a democracy to come to a discussion."

We are convinced that once the election campaign is over, there will no longer be any reason for maintaining the negative attitude conditioned by election tactics. Then there must once again be room for constructive discussions about the factual issues. This is why our outstretched hand remains, our offer for joint efforts to lead the country out of the difficult economic crisis.

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CSO: 3109/237

NORWEGIAN PAPER VIEWS SWEDISH LIBERALS' COLLAPSE

PM301605 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 28 Sep 82 p 8

[Commentary by Morten Fyhn: "Swedish Liberals in Crisis"]

[Text] It is not easy being a liberal party either in West Germany or in Sweden. "We have pursued a correct policy," Swedish People's Party [FP] Chairman Ola Ullsten said a week ago, after the Swedish voters had expressed the opposite opinion. For the once so great and mighty FP the Riksdag election was a catastrophe, with a 4.7-percent reduction in its share of the vote compared with the 1979 election. Only 322,000 Swedes, or 5.9 percent of the population, thought that the FP's are the right policies. This is only 0.3 percent more than those who think that the Communists are pursuing the right policies.

Last weekend the FP party leadership met in Stockholm to discuss the voters' disappointing stance. The outcome of this meeting was that there will be an extraordinary party congress at the end of January or the beginning of February to assess the party's situation and its work in opposition up to the next election in 3 years' time.

Last weekend the party leadership did not seem to have made much of an attempt at self-criticism. Most of the talk was about how hard it was to put forward the FP's "real message." Rightly enough the party leadership have generously [illegible] that they will be placing their posts at the disposal of the coming congress, but they point out at the same time that they intend to seek reelection. They have set up their own "analysis group" to look at the party's [illegible], as the phrase goes, and organization. The group includes Volvo [illegible] Sehr G. Gyllenhammar. He entered the party leadership this winter with a couple of other top men from industry. This was an attempt by the FP to strengthen its industrial policy profile, but the voters did not allow themselves to be influenced by it.

[illegible] of those who arrived at the same time as Gyllenhammar is the well-known and influential bank chief Hans Cavalli-Bjorkman of the Skandanaviska Enskilda Banken. He is one of the very few people who have said since the Riksdag election that Swedish industry and commerce must react favorably to future Prime Minister Olof Palme's outstretched hand on talks about the Swedish economy [illegible] earners' funds. Party Chairman Ullsten and the rest of the leadership [illegible] categorically rejected a meeting with Palme to discuss the funds.

The FP has been accused by its many critics of being inconstant [vinglete] The various views of Palme's hand help to strengthen the impression of confusion in the leadership. Many of the party's problems seem to lie in the fact that it tries to be friends with the greatest number possible all at the same time. This is not easy, either for private individuals or parties. Voters seldom have sympathy for such a line, even though it is "right" according to the party leadership.

Under Bertil Ohlin the FP had a strong position in Swedish politics as the major liberal opposition party. The high point came in the election of 1952, when the party won all of 24.4 percent of the votes. Since then it has gone downhill. Under Per Ahlmark's leadership from 1975 to 1978 the decline was halted, but it began again under Ola Ullsten.

Explanations of the party's miserable situation are plentiful. As well as the party's vacillations, its critics also point to the so-called Haga agreements of the 70's with the Social Democrats, the collaboration with the Social Democrats during the 1980 nuclear power referendum, and the tax reform agreement last year with the Center Party and the Social Democrats which brought about the split in the nonsocialist three-party government. All these are seen as a heavy burden for the party, which has probably also had to bear the dissatisfaction felt toward a government party when it is involved in the administration in bad times with unpopular measures such as public spending cuts and the introduction of a 3-day qualifying period before starting payment of sickness benefits.

Ola Ullsten himself has by no means escaped criticism in the outspoken party. He lacks "voter appeal." He creates neither indignation nor enthusiasm. He is industrious and capable, but uninteresting. This is being said out loud in the party ranks. This is why there have been calls for a new and more captivating leader. But there is no obvious candidate. Undoubtedly there will be a search for one in the time leading up to the extraordinary congress.

Meanwhile Ullsten and the other leaders are pondering how better to tell the voters what liberal policy actually is. The FP likes to present itself as the only party which is not purely an interest-group party. But it is difficult to get a clear idea of what the party's liberal-social ideology means in practice. The competition for center voters is hard, both from the conservatives and the Social Democrats.

Now after the election the FP has only one Riksdag deputy from north of Uppsala. There are many who believe that in 3 years' time the party will have none at all. For it will not be easy for Ullsten to make himself heard in the Riksdag when [Moderate Coalition Party Leader] Ulf Adelsohn and [Center Party Leader] Thorbjorn Falldin will be fighting to become the opposition's chief spokesman.

CSO: 3639/12

PROFESSOR SEES SECURITY POLICY OF NORWAY, DENMARK DIVERGING

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 16 Sep 82 p 3

[Review of a paper by Nikolaj Petersen]

> [Text] Danish and Norwegian security policy are tending to diverge. That is what Nikolaj Petersen, professor of political science at Aarhus University, says in the Norwegian Atlantic Committee's latest pamphlet on Danish security policy in the 1980's. He also points out that the tendencies toward breakdown of the security policy consensus that have characterized the Norwegian Labor Party have become discernible in the Danish Social Democratic Party, although delayed and diluted and partly linked to different questions.

In the 1970's Norway became more and more oriented toward the areas in the north and concerned itself with the country's rôle in the central balance of power between the United States and the Soviet Union, Petersen writes, and says that one of the consequences of that has been the early and active Norwegian interest in obtaining reinforcement treaties with the United States and Canada and the willingness to accept storage of heavy materiel in advance on Norwegian soil.

On the other hand, Danish defense interests in the 1960's and 1970's were focused on the risk of an isolated Warsaw Pact attack on Denmark, either in the form of a relatively massive invasion or a smaller attack without warning.

"The dominant attack scenario now is an invasion in connection with a general attack on NATO forces in West Europe, centered on the peninsula of Jutland and the island Sjælland," says Petersen, and adds that the dependence on defense cooperation with the FRG has had striking manifestations in recent years. It is in connection with West German defense that, as far as Denmark is concerned, it constitutes the primary connection with NATO's deterrence strategy, according to Petersen.

The proposition of the Nordic region as an atomic-weapon-free zone may become an important issue if the prospects of progress in regard to arms control on a broader international basis should prove illusory, the professor writes, but calls attention to the congress of the Social Democratic Party, where it was resolved "to ensure that no atomic weapons arrive on Danish soil," without the addition "in peacetime" that the party leadership had wanted.

"The resolution has not led to any change in Danish nuclear policy, however, and [illegible] will not do so. For the dynamics of this do not lie in the question of atomic weapons in Denmark, but in the position taken on the rôle of atomic weapons in NATO strategy and on the Nordic region as an atom-free zone," Petersen points out. He says, however, that the debate surrounding the zone question [illegible] revealed that Denmark, regardless of its atom-free status of many years, is included in NATO's general strategy, which does not rule out first use of tactical atomic weapons. Furthermore, Petersen calls attention to the relatively little-known report of the Danish Security and Disarmament Commission (SNU), which concludes with the statement that the zone proposal is irreconcilable with Denmark's and Norway's participation in the joint NATO strategy and thus with their general security-policy orientation.

Thus far Denmark has followed a negative line with regard to including security policy in the foreign-policy cooperation in the EC (EPS [European Political Cooperation]). Professor Petersen points out, however, that in the present Atlantic crisis Denmark has oriented itself toward Europe and especially toward the FRG, which has taken over England's rôle as Denmark's primary reference power.

"If the crisis should deepen, therefore, it is quite possible that the Danish reservation against a real security policy content in EPS will be difficult to stick to, and that Danish security policy will acquire an increasingly European and decreasingly Atlantic orientation," Professor Nikolaj Petersen writes. He concludes by saying that the structuring defense and security policy debate in Denmark is still relatively weak and unsophisticated.

"The research set is also small undeveloped compared with Norway and Sweden," he says, and at the same time regrets that the Danish decision-making system is not especially well equipped to honor the demands on the analytical plane, creativity and decisiveness, that the new challenges make, including the question of how to meet the increasing public debate, but also how to meet the demand for a new defense compromise when the present arrangement runs out in 1984.

"By that time it will be necessary to have taken a position on a new proposal, by all indications in an economic situation that is still more difficult than the present one," writes Nikolaj Petersen.

8815
CSO: 3639/4

NEW COALITION MINISTER HANDED MATERIEL PURCHASE ORDERS

[Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 12 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by Dan Axel]

[Text] In addition to a thorough examination of the missile affair last week, the new Conservative minister of defense, Hans Engell, will be busy going through and signing a large number of contracts on new acquisitions and improvements of defense materiel.

Former Minister of Defense Poul Søgaard handed over a report on the purchases made by the Armed Forces since August of 1981 as his last official act. The report--addressed to the Ways and Means Committee of the Folketing--also includes a list of the purchases planned for the near future.

In April of this year, the Committe of Ways and Means agreed to the allocation of nearly 330 million kroner for materiel acquisitions for the Armed Forces. Poul Søgaard planned to spend 70 million kroner of the said amount on maintenance of the Centurion tanks. The supplier of the equipment for the project will be chosen very soon. And the contract is expected to be signed in early 1983.

The self-propelled 155 millimeter haubits will be modified for 63 million kroner. A contract has been made with the U.S. Defense Department for the purchase of new pipes for 16 million kroner. Contracts for the rest of the equipment will be signed in the course of the next few weeks. And a contract for the purchase of new field-radio equipment for the Home Guard [illegible] million kroner will be entered into equally soon.

[illegible], the most urgent task for the new defense minister will be the signing of an authorization for the Defense Command to start moving two [illegible] batteries--ground-air rockets--to Funen. Purchases in connection with [illegible] transfer are expected to amount to nearly 200 million kroner.

[illegible]

BORDER GUARD SEEKING NEXT HELICOPTERS FROM WEST

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 16 Sep 82 p 9

[Article by Jyri Raivio: "Border Guard Looking at Helicopters from West"]

[Text] Aviaeksport, the export firm for the Soviet Union's aviation industry, is exhibiting its newest helicopter, the medium-weight Mi-17, for a period of 2 days in Helsinki. It is the next generation of the medium-weight Mi-8 helicopter, which is being used by the Finnish Air Force and Border Guard, but the procurement of helicopters developed on the basis of the Mi-8 is not being planned in the aviation section of the Border Guard.

Graduate Engineer Jukka Raunio, technical director of the aviation section, writes in the most recent issue of RAJAMME, a publication of the Border Guard, that the Mi-8 was only intended as an interim solution to be used for a few years. According to Raunio's estimate the Border Guard wants to procure its final sea rescue equipment from the West in the near future and this should include three light and two medium-weight two-engine helicopters.

The first step in this procurement of equipment from the West is the plan to replace the Border Guard's first Mi-8, which sank into the sea at Kustavi, with a helicopter leased from a Western country. A final selection has not yet been made, but it is most probable that the Border Guard will lease the American-made Bell 212-helicopter in October.

Four Different Types Were Considered

In the next phase or next year the purchase of the first light helicopters from the West will be planned. According to Raunio consideration has been given to four different types, three of which were flown by representatives of the Border Guard at the Farnborough Air Show held in England last week. Interest was expressed in the American-made Agusta Bell 412 made under Italian license, the American Sikorsky S-76, the French Aerospatiale Dauphine, and the English Westland Lynx.

The replacement of the HS-12, which fell into the sea, is considered to be urgent since the training of the Border Guard squadron located in Turku is suffering from a shortage of equipment. According to Raunio the funds for leasing a helicopter have been obtained and it is hoped that the money for

purchasing a helicopter next year will be obtained in the supplementary budget as soon as possible.

Emphasis on Lighter Equipment

The 20-year old Mi-8 helicopters intended as transport helicopters were not even from the beginning considered as a permanent solution within the Border Guard according to Raunio and the Soviet helicopter has not been considered as such even later. The Mi-8 has defects which cannot be eliminated by refitting and so on and should, therefore, be replaced by modern sea rescue helicopters around the middle of this decade.

In Raunio's opinion these modern sea rescue helicopters should be of two classes. The basic equipment would be made up of light two-engine helicopters, which would be able to take care of the majority of rescue operations or searches and the transporting of patients from islands and ships safely and economically.

The flight time of a light helicopter would cost only half of that of a medium weight helicopter, which would mean significant savings, particularly during training, which consumes many hours of flight time.

In addition to three light helicopters needed in rescue operatons, there would also be a need for medium-weight helicopters of the Mi-8 class, of which two should be procured according to Raunio's calculations. Since the cost of a light helicopter is approximately 10 million markkas and the cost of a medium-weight helicopter is 30 million markkas, the whole equipment renewal package for the Border Guard's squadron would cost approximately 100 million markkas.

The Mi-17 exhibited by Aviaeksport in Helsinki is nearly identical to its predecessor, the Mi-8, in its outside dimensions and systems. The biggest difference is in the engines, whose combined capacity was increased from 3,000 to 4,400 horse power.

The Mi-17 is just now being put into production and according to the Soviets it will also be used in sea rescue operations, for which the Mi-8 has also been used in the Soviet Union. The price of the Mi-17 is approximately 15 million markkas while the three Mi-8's ordered by the Border Guard cost a total of 40 million markkas including significant changes and refitting work accomplished in Finland.

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CSO: 3617/2

POLL SHOWS HALF OF POPULATION FEAR WORLD WAR THREAT

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 21 Sep 82 p 5

[Text] The Norwegian people are split right down the middle. "We are afraid of a new world war," say one half. "The danger is not especially great," answer the other half. These attitudes show up in a poll done for AFTENPOSTEN by the Norwegian Opinion Institute. The scant 1,000 interviewed answered questions about their fear of war and about the reasons they think as they do.

It is among women that fear of war is greatest. Thus while 50 percent of the total number interviewed expressed fear of a new world war, the percentage is 62 percent among women, 38 percent among men. And while 49 percent do not regard the danger of a new war as especially great, that is true of 61 percent of the men, 37 percent of the women.

"Are you afraid of a new world war, or do you not believe the danger is especially great?" was the question that the Norwegian Opinion Institute asked the 996 selected interviewees.

The answers are shown in the two tables below.

		Sex		Age			Geography				Union		
	Total	Men	Women	Under 30	30-59	60 and Over	Oslo/Akershus	Rest of East Norway	South Norway & West Norway	Trøndelag and North Norway	LO	Other Union	Non-Union
Afraid of a new world war	50	38	62	50	46	56	45	54	53	43	51	48	50
Danger not especially great	49	61	37	59	52	42	53	45	45	57	48	51	48
Don't know	1	1	1		1	2	1	1	2		1	1	1

	Income			Source of Income		Education		Political Sympathy						
	<100,000 kroner	100,000-159,999	≥160,000 kroner	Outside	Own Work	Junior High	Secondary School or Higher	Labor	Progressive	Conservative	Christian People's Party	Center Party	Socialist Left	Liberal Party
Afraid of a new world war	57	53	40	49	54	50	49	51	25	38	59	49	68	76
Danger not especially great	42	45	59	51	43	48	51	47	75	62	35	51	30	27
Don't know	1	1	2	1	2	2	1	1			6		2	

Increased Danger of War?

The Norwegian Opinion Institute went further with its question: "Do you think the danger of a new world war is greater or less than a year ago or about the same?"

Greater, 23 percent answered. Less, 9 percent say. About the same, according to 67 percent of those asked. In the answers to this question, too, there is a marked difference between men and women. It is true that about the same percentage (67 percent of the men and 68 percent of the women) say that the danger of war is about the same. But only a very small part of the women consider the danger of war reduced (5 percent). And while 19 percent of the men questioned consider the danger of war increasing, 27 percent of the women answer that question in the affirmative.

The distribution of answers also shows the following variation:

		Political Sympathy						
	Total	Labor	Progressive	Conservative	Christian People's Party	Center Party	Socialist Left	Liberal Party
Greater	23	26	10	16	20	10	35	28
Less	9	9	12	10	5	9	10	6
About the same	67	64	77	73	75	81	52	66
Don't know	1	1		1			3	

In conclusion the Norwegian Opinion Institute put the question of what condition or relationship, in the interviewees' opinion, constitutes the greatest danger to world peace. [See the table on the next page.]

Conflict between the superpowers	20
Atomic bombs/atomic weapons	19
The Mideast conflict	15
Arms race/arms build-up	15
Disagreements between countries	8
Desire for power	7
The Soviet Union	5
Inequality between undeveloped countries and industrialized countries	4
The superpowers' interests in other countries	4
United States policy	3
Oil policy/conflict over oil	3
Economic crisis	2
Conflict in Poland	2
Human error/technological failure	2
If a madman comes to power	2
Religious conflicts	1
The Iran-Iraq conflict	1
Communism	1
Unemployment	1
Other answers	3
Don't know	11

8815
CSO: 3639/4

POLL INDICATES HALF OF POPULATION FAVOR USSR LAND IN 'ZONE'

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 11 Sep 82 p 20

[Text] Fifty-one percent of the population feel that the prerequisite for establishing an atomic-weapon-free zone in the Nordic region--which will hold good in wartime, too--must be that the northern areas of the Soviet Union must also be an atom-free zone. Twenty-five percent of those questioned say that the Nordic region should be an atom-free zone regardless of what the Soviet Union does. This is the result of the weekly poll by Norwegian Market Data.

The poll includes 1,500 persons and was taken around the end of June and the beginning of July. One of the questions asked was: "If we think that atom-free zones are also to hold good in case of war, what position do you think Norway should take toward atom-free zones in the Nordic region? Do you think we must set it as a condition that there shall also be atom-free zones in the northern parts of the Soviet Union, or do you think the Scandinavians and Finns should unilaterally commit themselves to maintaining atomic-weapon-free zones regardless of what the Soviet Union does?"

Of those asked, 51 percent answered that the prerequisite must be that the northern areas of the Soviet Union also be included in an atom-free zone, while 25 percent said that the Nordic countries--regardless--should commit themselves to establishing such a zone. The "don't know" group constituted 24 percent. The same question was also asked in a poll last year. At that time 59 percent chose the first alternative, while 23 percent went in for establishing an atomic-weapon-free zone regardless. This year's poll shows that 37 percent of those who have signed the proclamation of the "No to Atomic Weapons" action group think that the prerequisite for an atom-free zone in the Nordic region is that the Soviet Union have an atomic-weapon-free zone in its northern regions, too, while 45 percent of the signers go in for the Nordic countries' committing themselves unilaterally to the establishment of an atomic-weapon-free zone.

Norwegian Market Data also asked the 1,500 how interested or uninterested they were in the question of atomic-weapon-free zones in the Nordic region. The answers were divided as follows: 52 percent answered that they were greatly or fairly interested in the question. In September of last year the percentage for that alternative was 60 percent, so that the interest in the question

[illegible] to be less this year than last year. This year 24 percent answered that they were slightly interested, while 21 percent were very little interested or completely uninterested. Last year the percentage of answers for those two alternatives were 20 and 14 percent respectively. Of those who had signed the "No to Atomic Weapens" proclamation, 68 percent answered this year that they were very much or fairly interested in the question.

The survey also shows that 65 percent think that Norway and the Nordic countries should not negotiate alone about the establishment of atom-free zones, but that the question must be viewed in connection with the negotiations between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Sixteen percent think Norway and the Nordic countries could negotiate alone. In September of last year 69 percent chose the first alternative, while 17 percent thought Norway and the Nordic countries can negotiate alone.

[illegible]

BRIEFS

ARMED FORCES RATIONALIZATION--Norsk Telegrambyrå--Commander in Chief Sven Hauge talked at an inter-Nordic defense conference in Fredrikstad Tuesday about a big rationalization of the Norwegian armed forces. Hauge said that the armed forces are operating 20 percent more expansively than there is economic cover for, and that, he said, cannot continue. The commander in chief said that the necessary rationalization may lead to the disappearance from the Norwegian armed forces of some emotionally sensitive units, such, e.g., as the Packsaddle Company in North Norway. At the defense conference the Norwegian, Danish, Swedish, and Finnish commanders in chief exchanged experiences in their respective contract work having to do with the relations between employers and employees in the Defense. The background is the expected problems between civilian employees and military employees when the necessary rationalization in Defense gets under way in earnest. Sweden has gone furthest in its efforts toward rationalization, with the result that several thousand jobs have been abolished in the Swedish Defense in recent years. Finland for its part has an opposite problem--the Finns today lack qualified personnel in many positions, Finnish Commander in Chief Keijo Tuominen stated. Commander in Chief Sven Hauge announced stringent rationalization measures in Norwegian Defense. He spoke of following the Swedish pattern of cutting away what is not strictly necessary for an effective defense. [Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 15 Sep 82 p 4] 8815

CSO: 3639/4

SUBMARINE INTRUSION REVEALS NAVY'S WEAKNESS

[illegible]81543 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 5 Oct 82 p 2

[Editorial: "Strengthen the Navy!"]

[illegible]: The submarine affair in Karlskrona Archipelago crushed many illusions. [illegible]re the whole Swedish nation was suddenly given definitive proof that one of [illegible]e superpowers has no hesitation in violating our neutrality in the coarsest [illegible]nner imaginable. An ice-cold wind blew across the Nordic area during the [illegible] the nuclear-armed Soviet submarine lay parked in Blekinge waters.

[illegible]bmarine 137 was not responsible for the first violation of Swedish territorial [illegible]ters--nor indeed for the last. Unfortunately it is more the rule than the [illegible]eption that intrusions of this sort take place. A foreign power or powers [illegible] permanently engaged in spying along our coasts and have no hesitation even [illegible] visiting restricted military areas.

[illegible] report that a submarine has been moving directly outside the naval base [illegible] Musko is correct, this is a scandal and yet another proof that no methods [illegible] systematically charting our most sensitive naval areas are being eschewed.

[illegible] the conclusions we should draw from these violations?

[illegible]ion--unfortunately unavoidable in the present situation--is that [illegible] lack of belief in the idea that Sweden is able to defend its own [illegible]. A foreign power or powers consider--despite the incident last fall--[illegible] is little risk involved in engaging in this sort of activity.

[illegible] a conclusion must be that the country's political leaders must [illegible] that our military defenses are given the resources needed to expel [illegible]. Or does anyone really think that we should tolerate these flag-[illegible] of a neutral state's integrity? Should Sweden renounce its [illegible] defending its own territory?

[illegible] international level, in the East as in the West, it ought by this stage [illegible] obvious how inadequate our resources are. They know that we [illegible] pursue one foreign submarine at a time, that our power of [illegible] limited, and so on.

[illegible] light of this we need to quickly reinforce the navy's resources. And also to begin to make use of the new weapons which can be used in submarine hunts as soon as possible--radio transmitters which make the hunt easier, miniature depth charges and incident torpedoes [incidenttorpeder] able to make a hole in a submarine's hull. It has been said that some of these new weapons will not be used before 1 July 1983. Reconsider this decision.

If forceful measures are not taken soon we cannot expect the rest of the world's faith in the Swedish Navy to grow. On the other hand, we have good reason to assume that the violations will continue.

In connection with the latest incident the defense forces have chosen to drastically restrict the information made public about current actions. The background to this new policy is unclear, but the least that can be said is that it gives rise to concern.

Interference with the freedom of information often leads to rumors and a general hush-hush approach. This could perhaps be acceptable during a particularly acute phase of a hunt, but it must not become the rule. The defense forces are the least likely in the long term to have anything to gain from limiting the public's right of access to information about violations of our coastal waters.

As soon as it is certain that the present intruder has left Swedish territory the defense forces should present as detailed information as possible about the submarine's operations in our waters, about how close it came to important military targets, and so on.

We assume that the defense forces will adhere to this policy of open information which has been applied in the past and satisfy these demands.

CSO: 3650/12

DAGENS NYHETER LEARNS THAT FALLDIN GAVE OK TO TOUGHER U-BOAT MEASURES

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 25 Sep 82 p 24

[Article by Harald Hamrin: "New Regulations for Submarine Hunting; Depth Charges Will Be Aimed Close to Submarine"]

[illegible] At the beginning of September Prime Minister Thorbjorn Falldin personally gave the go-ahead for the supreme commander of the Armed Forces, Lennart [illegible], to strengthen implementation of existing regulations for submarine hunting [illegible] possible. This took place, DAGENS NYHETER has learned, at a meeting between the prime minister and the supreme commander.

The decision made at the meeting was that depth charges armed with live ammunition may be aimed considerably closer to the foreign submarine than up to now.

The reason for the meeting was the ongoing search for a foreign submarine west of Landsort in the southern part of the Stockholm archipelago. Part of the background is also criticism by the Conservatives that the government has not acted [illegible] on this issue.

At the meeting with the supreme commander, Prime Minister Falldin, according to [illegible] DAGENS NYHETER has learned, expressed his strong irritation over the fact [illegible] existing instructions were not sufficient to force to the surface the various foreign submarines which have been chased by the Swedish Nay during the [illegible] early fall.

[illegible] Immediately

[illegible] with Falldin General Ljung, according to DAGENS NYHETER's sources, [illegible] a proposal for tougher measures in the framework of existing [illegible]. The prime minister instantly empowered the supreme commander to [illegible] instructions for tougher measures and also to implement them as soon [illegible] another chance.

[illegible] briefing for the press last Wednesday on the search of [illegible] for foreign submarines, the supreme commander disclosed that [illegible] immediately to issue new detailed instructions for the existing regulations governing submarine hunting. What was not apparent from the supreme [illegible] was that the decision had been made at the highest political

The new detailed instructions are not to be confused with the completely new regulations for submarine hunting which are intended to take effect on 1 July next year and which the Conservatives have demanded should be implemented as soon as possible.

Special Orders

At the press briefing last Wednesday the supreme commander revealed only that the new detailed instructions will take effect on his "special orders when the situation so demands and training in their implementation has been completed."

"Among other things, the time interval between warning and fire for effect will be reduced," the supreme commander disclosed. Under certain circumstances fire for effect may by deployed in the immediate vicinity of the submarine.

Fire for Effect

In accordance with existing regulations a foreign submarine discovered in Swedish waters must first be warned by dropping smaller explosive charges. If the submarine nevertheless remains "in a submerged state without demonstrating by maneuver that it intends to leave Swedish territory immediately," the Swedish military has the right to resort to so-called fire for effect. This takes place by dropping depth charges with live ammunition, but at a distance so great "that there is not much risk that the submarine will be seriously damaged."

New Torpedo

Entirely new antisubmarine regulations will go into effect on 1 July next year, as previously reported by DAGENS NYHETER. At this time it will become possible to deploy a new and hopefully very effective so-called incident torpedo in the waters for foreign submarines.

This torpedo--TP42--will, according to information received by DAGENS NYHETER, be completed around 1 April. After that it will take about 3 months to train personnel in the use of the new weapon, which will thus be ready for deployment at the same time as the new rules take effect at the mid-year point.

[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] CONSERVATIVE MP BILDT'S CRITICISM ON U-BOAT POLICY

[illegible] DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 24 Sep 82 p 2

/[illegible] by Olof Santesson: "Out of the Communal Spirit of Security"/

[illegible] The Conservatives have damaged the faith in Sweden's will and ability to maintain its territory! The words are Prime Minister Thorbjorn Falldin's. With a general attack on the Conservative party leadership he raises fundamental questions about the spirit of community in the Swedish security and foreign policies. We have not had--have not needed to have--such a debate in a very long time.

To be sure, criticism has often been leveled at the Conservatives for having a different view of international issues. A tightening of the party's position has been observed lately.

[illegible] the Conservatives for the first time and as the only party rejected the [illegible]-percent goal in foreign aid. In the election debate party leader Ulf [illegible] violently attacked the aid to Laos, above all. The Conservatives have [illegible] the other parties of selling out vital Swedish interests during negotiations with the Soviet Union concerning division of the continental shelf in the [illegible]. A Conservative report on "Peace and Freedom in Europe," published [illegible] election, speaks of the Soviet military superiority and stresses the [illegible] in a manner that is foreign to the middle parties and the Social [illegible]. The document is marked by technical military thinking at the expense [illegible] elements of security policy. Finally, the party has rapidly taken [illegible] measures by means of contracts against the submarine incidents.

[illegible] is badly substantiated. Admittedly, the analysis of the security-[illegible] conditions in Europe are strongly influenced by conventional NATO [illegible]. Not much can be said about the reliance on NATO statistics, how-[illegible] dependent on this, since unfortunately no other meaningful [illegible]. It is useful that the Conservatives brought out the accusa-[illegible] against the Soviet Union for cheating in the freeze on new [illegible].

[illegible] the submarine problem, the Conservatives' defense expert, Carl Bildt, [illegible] informed himself well of the shortcomings; it is questionable, [illegible] before the Soviet submarine ran aground last fall anyone, even [illegible], struggled to increase the antisubmarine capability.

Prime Minister Palme does not discuss everything. He merely aims at the man-[illegible] the Conservatives have used the submarine issue. One thing which [illegible] that the Conservatives (read Adelsohn) have given credibility to [illegible] that a foreign troop unit should have landed in a sensitive Swedish security area. This whole story is strange, since within the same [illegible] period such information appeared in several newspapers, in, among other [illegible], interviews with Defence Minister Torsten Gustafson. Adelsohn was probably not the only one to misunderstand and misuse the information issued a few days earlier by the Advisory Council on Foreign Affairs.

Palme has waited until after the election to accuse the Conservatives of [illegible] the faith in the Swedish neutrality and security policies. He explains [illegible] he did not want to divert the campaign against the wage earner funds with [illegible] on the Conservatives, something which could, of course, expose himself to criticism. It will be said that isolation of the Conservatives [illegible] during the election is part of an effort by Palme to appear as the natural leader of the new opposition against Social Democracy.

[illegible] question remains. In the election campaign the Conservatives [illegible] that it was the supreme commander of the Armed Forces who called for [illegible], new regulations in connection with submarine incidents to take effect [illegible]; the supreme commander claims not to have the right weapons and the properly trained personnel until then. It is reasonable to ask how much the government pushed for it. But the Conservatives consistently blamed Palme [illegible] the Palme government.

The debate up to now--and in that we are all guilty--missed the whole [illegible] of the Conservative arguments. Carl Bildt spoke of a slowness which cannot "fail to affect the image of the decision-making ability of the Swedish government regarding how to confront the direct challenge presented by the violations." The consequences of undisturbed submarine violations for an extended time are said to become "serious when it comes to the citizens' faith in the capability of the Swedish defense and pose the risk that the will to defend ourselves, on which our neutrality is so dependent, could become undermined."

These formulations really do not deal with different views of a security-political question of great significance, not even with differences over certain security-political arrangements. The Conservatives are breaking up a fundamental spirit of unanimity. The credibility of Swedish support of the security policy requires the kind of attitudinizing which the Conservatives have not shown lately.

On Thursday Carl Bildt tried to make fun of party leader Adelsohn's words about submarine breakthrus in the Swedish archipelago. He took credit for the supreme commander's promise to issue new detailed instructions for today's regulations governing submarine incidents. Bildt's complacence with the Conservative contribution shows that he does not want to understand what it is really all about.

(1:45)
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[illegible] VIEWS SUBMARINE INTRUSION IMPLICATIONS

[illegible] Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 6 Oct 82 p 2

[Editorial: "The Hunt in Harsfjarden"]

[illegible] The possibility that a foreign submarine is hiding near the navy's most important base in Stockholm's southern archipelago has called for the [illegible] of a large number of Swedish resources. Harsfjarden has been a protected [illegible] military anchoring place for more than 300 years. Here, in Swedish [illegible] waters, is one of the vital nerves in our marine defenses.

All suspicions now point to an extraordinarily serious violation of Swedish [illegible]--on this the outgoing and incoming governments are obviously agreed, [illegible] that the leaders of all the parties represented in the Foreign Affairs [illegible] have received detailed information from the defense forces' leaders. [illegible] obvious that a foreign submarine close to the Musko base could represent [illegible] more dangerous intrusion than last fall's grounded Soviet submarine in [illegible] Archipelago--which in itself was a much more striking incident--[illegible] international terms, too--than similar incidents in the past were.

[illegible] really been an unidentified submarine somewhere in the 20 to 40 meter [illegible] Harsfjarden since last Friday [2 October]? Defense forces representatives [illegible] that it is "probable" that there is a submarine. But they mention [illegible] echos, air bubbles and oil slicks. They are acting as if this [illegible] verges on absolute certainty.

[illegible] 20 depth charges were dropped on Tuesday [5 October] in a [illegible] limited area." Such action would hardly be allowed to take place, [illegible] in charge of the search thought that they were able to do some [illegible] work in the center of Harsfjarden. Behavior has also been [illegible] tightened up. The defense forces have obviously been given permission [illegible] effect closer to where they think they have the submarine.

[illegible] Defense Forces' commander in chief's press conference about [illegible] incidents 2 weeks ago it was revealed that special detailed instruc-[illegible] added to the regulations which have long been in force. These [illegible], which for the time being at least are being kept secret, will [illegible] effect on the commander in chief's special orders "when the situation [illegible] and "training in their execution has been carried out." One of the

The instructions make long pause between warning fire and fire for effect; "under certain circumstances fire for effect may be used against the area immediately surrounding the submarine." It is not absolutely clear--but it is possible--that we have reached this stage.

Whether this is the case or not, in the last few days the affair has reached such dimensions that it would put a great deal of strain on the defense forces' standing if they finally fail to find a submarine in the waters which are now still to be completely sealed off. Or is possible that not all the details of the submarine hunt have been made known to the public for reasons of "hunt tactics," that is, in order not to make the situation easier for the possible quarry. All of us should be able to accept this. From the information point of view what is most important is the efforts in their broad outline and their results.

The defense forces have announced that for a while they have been pursuing a restrictive information policy toward the Swedish people. There has already been criticism from several newspapers, which have probably said too much too early. For on Tuesday we seemed to be back in with something which in the heat of battle could easily turn into a looseness with details of no legitimate interest to the general public.

Sweden's intentions have been declared to be first to identify exactly what it is that is hiding in Hara fjorden's shallows, which because of the water's stratification are fairly "murky," then to expel it. On this point too Sweden's cards have been toughened up. Now we are talking about the type of results which were originally thought possible only after 1 July next year with new weapons and the training of personnel in new tasks.

As Prime Minister Fälldin puts it: Sweden wants to establish the identity of the probable submarine in order then to be able to protest to the country involved. Navy spokesmen stress the need to actually find out what a submarine could have been up to near the Musko base. Such determination does of course increase the risk of more serious events than those we have had to consider in the past. The risk, for example, of an accidental sinking with loss of human life--the rescue and landing of a foreign submarine crew alone would lead to many legal and diplomatic difficulties.

And if we do finally find a submarine in Hara fjorden we would still be in an extreme situation. No navy's leaders, no matter how ingenously they behave, would be able to prevent accidents of misnavigation in the maze of the archipelago on the landward side of Mysingen [sea passage lying outside Hara fjorden].

Case: 3650/12

NAVAL CHIEF PROTESTS LACK OF COMBAT READINESS FUNDS

[illegible] DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 24 Sep 82 p 9

/Text/ Resisting an invasion will even in the future be the prime task of the [illegible] defense forces. This is the conclusion of the Supreme Commander of the [illegible] Lennart Ljung in his plans for 83-88, that is to say the plans for [illegible] the various sections of the defense are to receive over the next [illegible].

[illegible] neutrality and preparedness against incidents--primarily then pro-[illegible] against foreign submarines and aircraft--will become secondary.

[illegible] that the military organization, the forces which can be organized in [illegible], will become more important than the training organization, which will [illegible].

[illegible] for guarding the borders and guarding against submarines are also [illegible] the peacetime organization.

[illegible] between the peacetime and wartime organizations is also reflected in [illegible] of money between the services of the Army, Navy and Air Force.

[illegible] the last [illegible] years the Army and Air Force have received the major portion of [illegible] at the expense of the Navy. The distribution was approximately 35 [illegible] to the Army and Air Force and 15 percent of the money to the Navy.

[illegible] why the Army and Air Force received so much more money than the Navy [illegible]:

[illegible] the largest of the service branches and trains 75 percent of all the [illegible]. The Air Force has largely been built up with Swedish aircraft which [illegible] of money to develop and build.

[illegible] other hand, has lost its large ships such as destroyers and [illegible] destroyer will be mothballed on 1 October while waiting to [illegible].

[illegible] years, according to the Supreme commander's plans, the Army will [illegible] billion Kronor, while the Air Force will get over 31 billion [illegible].

Over the same period the supreme commander wants to give the Navy a little more than 10 million kroner.

As was previously reported by Tidningarnas Telegrambyra, Navy Chief Per Rudberg has protested against the supreme commander's plans. According to Rudberg the Navy will not be able to fulfill the tasks set forth in the defense decision passed by Parliament last spring.

In his so-called dissenting opinion--an unusual and strong protest--Rudberg writes that it is particularly surprising that the supreme commander and the Government authorities want to back the function of the submarines to such a limited extent.

[illegible]
[illegible]

BRIEFS

NEW DIRECTOR OF ARIANESPACE--Charles Bigot has just been named general director of Arianespace, the company responsible for marketing the European Ariane launcher. He replaces Frederic Allest, who since last June has also been serving as general director of the National Center for Space Studies (CNES). Born in 1932, graduated from the National Aeronautics School and the College of Aeronautics of Cranfield, Charles Bigot is a veteran of the CNES, where he created the launchers division in 1966. Serving subsequently as development director at Air Inter and then general director of Seri-Renault, he joined Aerospatiale in 1980, where he was commercial director of the ballistics and space systems division. [Text] [Paris L'USINE NOUVELLE in French 23 Sep 82 p 78] [illegible]

[illegible]: 5519/32 END

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Nov. 1 1982